

Towards a Society based on Mutual Aid, Voluntary Cooperation & the Liberation of Desire

#48/Fall-Winter 1999-2000

Vol.17, No.2

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Anarchy

A Journal of Desire Armed



Michael William
The Collapse of the
Ecology Montreal Party

Alfredo Bonnano
Self-Management

Post-Left Anarchy!
Alex Trotter
Lawrence Jarach
John Zerzan
Manolo Gonzalez

Ted Kaczynski
First Prison Interview

And reviews, including:

**The Congress of Clowns,
Film & the Anarchist Imagination,
and All-American Anarchist**



Post-Left Anarchy?

There remain large numbers of anarchists who continue to identify closely with the political left in one form or another. But there are increasing numbers ready to abandon much of the dead weight associated with the left tradition. Many pages of this issue are devoted to beginning a new exploration of what is at stake in considering whether or not identification with the political left has outworn any benefits for anarchists.

For most of their existence over roughly the last couple centuries, consciously anarchist activists, theorists, groups and movements have consistently inhabited a minority position within the eclectic world of would-be revolutionaries on the left. In most of the world-defining insurrections and revolutions during that time—those which had any significant permanence in their victories—authoritarian rebels were usually an obvious majority among active revolutionaries. And even when they weren't, they often gained the upper hand through other means. Whether they were liberals, social-democrats, nationalists, socialists, or communists, they remained part of a majority current within the political left explicitly committed to a whole constellation of authoritarian positions. Along with an admirable dedication to ideals like justice and equality, this majority current favors hierarchical organization, professional (and, too often, cults of) leadership, dogmatic ideologies (especially notable in its many Marxian variants), a self-righteous moralism, and a widespread abhorrence for social freedom and authentic, non-hierarchical community.

Especially after their expulsion from the First International, anarchists have generally found themselves facing a hard choice. They could locate their critiques somewhere within the political left—if only on its fringes. Or else they could reject the majority opposition culture in its entirety and take the chance of being isolated and ignored.

Since many, if not most, anarchist activists have come out of the left through disillusionment with its authoritarian culture, the option of clinging to its fringes and adapting its themes in a more libertarian direction has maintained a steady allure. Anarcho-syndicalism may be the best example of this kind of left-anarchism. It has allowed anarchists to use leftist ideologies and methods to work for a leftist vision of social justice, but with a simultaneous commitment to anarchist themes like direct action, self-management, and certain (very limited) libertarian cultural values. Murray Bookchin's ecological anarcho-leftism, whether going by the label of libertarian municipalism or social ecology, is another example. It is distinguished by its persistent failure to gain much of a foothold anywhere, even in its favored terrain of Green politics. A further example, the most invisible (and numerous?) of all types of left-anarchism, is the choice of a great many anarchists to submerge themselves within leftist organizations that have little or no

commitment to *any* libertarian values, simply because they see no possibility of working directly with other anarchists (who are often similarly hidden, submerged in still other leftist organizations).

Perhaps it's time, now that the ruins of the political left continue to implode, for anarchists to consider stepping out of its steadily disappearing shadow *en masse*. In fact, there's still a chance, if enough anarchists can dissociate themselves sufficiently from the myriad failures, purges and "betrayals" of leftism, that anarchists can finally stand on their own.



Along with defining themselves in their own terms, anarchists might once again inspire a new generation of rebels, who this time may be less willing to compromise their resistance in attempts to maintain a common front with a political left that has historically opposed the creation of free community wherever it has appeared. For the evidence is irrefutable. Libertarian revolutionaries of any type have consistently been denied a presence in the vast majority of leftist organizations (from the break in the International on); forced into silence in many of the left organizations they have been allowed to join (for example, the anarcho-Bolsheviks); and persecuted, imprisoned, assassinated or tortured by any leftists who have attained the necessary political power or organizational resources to do so (examples are legion).

Why has there been such a long history of conflict and enmity between anarchists and the left? It is because there are two fundamentally different visions of social change embodied in the range of their respective critiques and practices (although any particular group or movement always includes contradictory elements). At its simplest, anarchists—especially anarchists who identify least with the left—commonly engage in a practice which refuses to set itself up as a political leadership apart from society, refuses the inevitable hierarchy and manipulation involved in building mass organizations, and refuses the hegemony of any single dogmatic ideology. The left, on the other hand, has most commonly engaged in a substitutive, representational practice in which mass organizations are subjected to an elitist leadership of intellectual ideologues and opportunistic politicians. In this practice the party substitutes itself for the mass movement, and the party leadership substitutes itself for the party.

In reality, the primary function of the left has historically been to *recuperate* every social struggle capable of confronting capital and state directly, such that at best only an ersatz *representation* of victory has ever been achieved, always concealing the public secret of continuing capital accumulation, continuing wage-slavery, and continuing hierarchical, statist politics as usual, but under an insubstantial rhetoric of resistance and revolution, freedom and social justice.

The bottom-line question is, can anarchists do better outside the left—from a position of explicit and uncompromising critique, than those who have chosen to inhabit the left have done from within?

Jason McQuinn, Editor

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—B.A.G. Fuller

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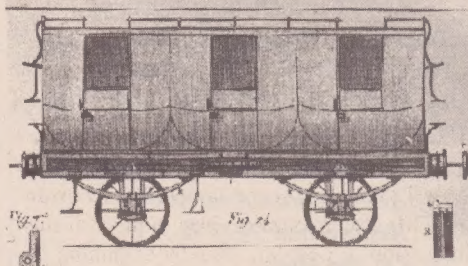
Reclaim the Trains!

By the Collective Without Money

On June 29th a group of 80 Dutch radical activists jumped the train from Amsterdam to Cologne without a ticket. Their demand was free transport to the demonstration against the anti-social EU-project in Cologne. The Dutch "Collective Without Money" states that public transport exists to serve people and not to make profit.

Free train actions to anti-capitalist meetings and demonstrations are happening a lot in countries like Italy, France and, recently, Belgium. The Dutch action was the first one the Netherlands has seen since the anti-nuclear protests in the early eighties when free trains transported hundreds of thousands to huge demos.

Getting on the train went surprisingly easy and the cops were not able to stop the first 60 activists from entering the train. Afraid of chaos—and delays—in the train stations, they made a first attempt to separate the first passenger car (the one with activists) in Arnhem. The attempt failed totally since the emergency break was pulled and people forced their way out of the train—accidentally demolishing an emergency exit. The train activists demanded that their colleagues from Arnhem enter the train and that the train leave for Germany. Both demands were granted by the cops who were panicking since they couldn't do anything without causing a huge delay for the interna-



tional train and the other trains passing through Arnhem station (near the Dutch/German border). In Emmerich, Germany a small number of German cops pulled a trick on the Dutch activists separating their car from the rest of the train and moving it outside of the train station. The cops however were not able to stop the then 80 activists from getting out of the captured train. The activists were just too late to block the passage of the international train to Cologne and saw this train leave before their eyes. So the group occupied the railway tracks and demanded a new train to Cologne. The local cops initially granted this demand and half an hour later emptied the first car of a new train to Cologne. Surprise, surprise the top cops then changed his mind. The train suddenly took off without the activists, leaving the activists behind with one illusion less (being able to make deals

with cops).

One more serious attempt was made to block the next train to Cologne, but it failed because the cops, dealing only with the activists, started beating people up. They flew in two huge Chinook helicopters with more cops and negotiations started again. The cops refused further travel in Germany, claiming we had caused them enough shit for one day. The cops said the group would be sent back after an identity check. The activists, tired of playing a cat and mouse game with the cops for hours, then demanded a free train back all the way to Amsterdam, and said to the cops they would only go as one group (including the 7 people who did not have passports with them) and only after they had confirmation that the one person arrested was released. Both demands were answered in a positive way and the whole group went back to Arnhem (NL). From their 15 people took a specially arranged bus to Cologne. The rest went directly home.

For a first free train action it all went quit well and, although we lost the demo, we were part of a strong action and all had a good time. Most of all, we learned a lot for our campaign to have free trains and we are positive that the Dutch railway company eventually will understand that it is better to come to an understanding with us, like the Railway companies did in Italy, France and Belgium.

Inside Anarchy

A lot has happened since the Spring/Summer issue of *Anarchy* showed up last April. Most notably, the June 18th "Reclaim the Streets!" demonstrations in London, England and Eugene, Oregon. I mention London for the obvious reason that it successfully shut down the financial district with a maximum of festivity and chaos, along with a minimum of arrests and injuries! Yet, though the Eugene march and riot were very small in comparison, their ramifications for the North American movement may in the end be as important, as John Zerzan points out on page 50 in "New Movement on Horizon."

Certainly, fallout from the June 18th events has had a great effect on this magazine, though not the kind we'd prefer. Comrade Rob los Ricos (aka Rob Thaxton)—who played a large part assisting in production of the last issue of *Anarchy* back in Missouri—was arrested, tried and imprisoned for throwing a rock at a cop who was charging at him after the Eugene march. See the account by Wolfi on page 20 for details of the vicious criminal (in)justice system attack directed at him—in presumed retaliation for his alleged participation in the combative, yet festive, rioting there which made Eugene police look powerless for a few brief moments. Please support Rob's defense so that he can appeal his conviction by the violently anti-anarchist Oregon court.

As this issue goes to press, many anarchists will be amongst the thousands converging on the Seattle World Trade Organization talks, hoping to turn radical opposi-

tion to global capital up another notch in this country. If the events in Eugene help inspire a more contentious approach to protests in Seattle, the promise of a renewed anarchist movement may already begin bearing more visible fruit.

In Southeastern Europe the militant anarchist movement in Greece continues to provide an incredible example of the kind of radical pressure that can be applied when enough anarchists take the initiative and decide not to tolerate global capitalist business-as-usual. Besides providing some of the boldest and most effective opposition to the US-NATO war against Serbia earlier this year, Greek anarchists took the lead in fighting the recent visit of US President (and mass-murderer) Bill Clinton. Hundreds of anarchists participated in the trashing of downtown Athens, where more than 60 banks and businesses were damaged during fighting between thousands of demonstrators and police. According to the Associated Press account, more than 10,000 marchers chanted "Clinton, Fascist, Murderer."

But, while aggressive opposition to global capital seems like a minimum we should expect from a renewed anarchist movement, where should we attempt to go beyond such opposition? With this issue, *Anarchy* is opening up a new discussion on the relationship of anarchists to the left, which may help clarify past mistakes and future potential directions. *Anarchy* contributing editors, Alex Trotter, Lawrence Jarach, John Zerzan and Manolo Gonzalez have initiated this discussion of post-left anarchy beginning on page 39. The next issue will continue this

discussion with both essays and (we highly encourage) letters on this subject. The deadline for the next issue will be March 1st, so don't wait too long if you'd like to contribute.

In related veins, Michael William continues to detail the sordid practice of real-existing "Libertarian Municipalism" in Part Two of "The Collapse of the Ecology Montreal Party" (on page 27). While Alfredo Bonnano argues that without self-management of struggles and revolutionary movements, the idea of workers' self-management of production is not just incomplete, but worthless where genuine liberation is concerned (see page 35).

And, finally, the features of this issue are rounded off with a unique interview with Ted Kaczynski, showing the human side of a man often portrayed in the mainstream media as a monster. (While these same media portray the monsters who torture, maim, kill and enslave on a vast scale—whether presidents, congressmen, generals or CEOs—as pillars of the national and international community.) Whether or not one agrees with Kaczynski's thoughts or acts, it is obvious that the man is serious about his critique and willing to take responsibility for it, even if it means standing alone against the onrush of modern technological society. We stand in his support as a political prisoner who was refused the opportunity to speak directly in his own defense by an (in)justice system afraid of the many hints of mass public sympathy for the "Unabomber" simmering just below the surface of our media-portrayed normality.

CONSPIRACY IS UNNECESSARY



TED KACZYNSKI

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DON'T BE
M.I.A.

Moving to California?

This issue has been edited and produced in Alameda, California, where I've temporarily relocated since the end of the summer. There's a possibility *Anarchy* magazine may make a more permanent move, possibly to Berkeley in the next year. (Any Bay Area anarchists interested in the possibilities of a relocation of this magazine are invited to get in touch.) For now all contact information remains current, though please keep in mind that the move to California (and the resulting chaos) has resulted in longer mail response times. Until *Anarchy* #49 appears in early April, it may be faster to reach me at this temporary editorial address:

Jason McQuinn
2532 Santa Clara Ave., PMB 189
Alameda, CA 94501

In other magazine news, it should be noted that, apparently following in the footsteps of another recent *Anarchy* editor, Paul Z. Simons has disappeared without leaving a forwarding address. This explains the absence of the conclusion to his account of the Paris Commune in this issue.

Please don't forget that the C.A.L. Press/Paleo Editions book publishing project has just come out with the long-awaited second, expanded edition of John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal*. *Anarchy* readers can get their copies right now by sending checks for \$14.95 + \$2.05 shipping & handling (for a total of \$17.00) to C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446. And while we're at it, don't forget that the last C.A.L. Press book, Bob Black's hilarious send-up of Murray Bookchin, *Anarchy after Leftism*, is still available for \$7.95 + \$2.05 s&h. More books are in the works, so there may be another title announced in the next *Anarchy*.

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Regular readers will recall that C.A.L. Press losses from the bankruptcy of our largest distributor a couple years ago totalled \$13,000. With the last three issues of *Anarchy* we've managed to make a small amount of headway against this deficit, which now stands at about \$11,000. We continue to appeal for extra support from anyone who believes that *Anarchy* magazine fulfills an important, unique role within the anarchist milieu. Our fund-raising goal is to completely make up our losses within the next 16 months. And we want to give donors something in return for their support.

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Many thanks to all who have helped out in the past, and to everyone who helps us continue publishing into the future.

-Jason McQuinn, Editor

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Anarchy after Leftism

Bob Black's newest book fresh off the press. An intelligent, witty & compelling demolition job on both Murray Bookchin's atrocious *Social Anarchism vs. Lifestyle Anarchism* and his overall philosophical and radical pretensions. Highly recommended. (C.A.L. Press, 1997) 176pp. \$7.95 paper.

Future Primitive & Other Essays

John Zerzan's latest book, collecting recent essays from *Anarchy & Demolition Derby*, including "Future Primitive," "The Mass Psychology of Misery," "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism" and "Tonality and the Totality," along with his "Nihilist's Dictionary." (C.A.L. Press & Autonomedia, 1994) 185pp. \$6.95 paper.

Revolution of Everyday Life

Raoul Vaneigem's still-explosive masterpiece on radical subjectivity in a world of things and their prices. This book has been serialized in *Anarchy*, but it's well worth reading & re-reading. One of the two major works of the Situationist International, this text played a role in the gestation of the general strike of May, 1968 in France. (Left Bank & Rebel Press, 1967, 1994) 279pp. \$15.95 paper.

Against His-Story, Against Leviathan

Fredy Perlman's most important work presents his account of the world history of civilizations from their origins as they devoured primitive peoples and other civilizations on their way to the dead-end we know too well as the present day. A poetic and deeply subversive reversal of perspective on history. (Black & Red, 1983) 302pp. \$9.95 paper.

Letters of Insurgents

Fredy Perlman's fascinating & compelling novel of letters between continents revealing and concealing what is subversive and what is recuperated in the personal & public lives of two radicals—one American and one in Eastern Europe—from the upheavals of the '60s through the reaction which followed. (Black & Red, 1976) 831pp. \$12.95 paper.

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism

Fredy Perlman's penetrating critique of nationalism left and right. This is an essential essay for understanding nationalism without illusions. (Black & Red, 1985) 58pp. \$2.75 paper.

History of the Makhnovist Movement

Peter Arshinov's inspiring firsthand account of the most important anarchist movement of the Russian Revolution, centered on the anarchist partisans organized by Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine, as they fought for their lives under attack from the Ukrainian nationalists, the Bolshevik counter-revolution and the Czarist White armies from 1918 until their defeat in 1921. This is an amazing and inspiring story. (Black & Red, 1987) 284pp. \$9.95 paper.

Society of the Spectacle

Guy Debord's highly important masterwork updating Marx's theory of commodity fetishism for an electronically-mediated world. "Everything which was once lived has moved into its representation." One of the two central works of the Situationist International. (Black & Red, 1967, 1983) unpaginated \$6.95 paper.

Situationist International Anthology

Ken Knabb's definitive translation and collection of the most important articles from the S.I.'s French journal, including those by Asger Jorn, Ivan Chtcheglov, Guy Debord, Raoul Vaneigem, Attila Kótyani, René Viénet & others. (Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981) 406pp. \$14.95 paper.

Journey through Utopia

Marie Louise Berneri's thorough and perceptive study of the most important utopian writings since Plato's *Republic*. (Freedom Press, 1950) 339pp. \$9.95 paper.

Against Civilization

A new anthology of "Readings and Reflections" put together by John Zerzan, including Hesiod on through to the "primitivists" of today, by way of Rousseau, William Morris, and Fourier, among others—51 selections in all. (Uncivilized Books, 1999) \$9.95 paper.

Begin at Start

Su Negrin's simple, straightforward & unpretentious primer for integrating the personal and the political, written from a 1960s-70s perspective. (Times Change Press, 1972) 173pp. \$5.95 paper.

Passionate and Dangerous: Conversations with Midwestern Anti-authoritarians & Anarchists

Well, maybe not all that "dangerous," but this new survey of the midwestern anarchist scene will give you a lot better idea of who is active and what's going on out there! (1999) 70pp. \$4.00 magazine format.

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#48

Anti-Panhandler Repression in Gay Villages

Michael William

Montreal's Gay Village consists primarily of a 10-block strip along Sainte-Catherine. Most of the village spots I rarely go to. But I do frequent a couple dance places I like, or if the weather is warm, I sit on benches on Sainte-Catherine or in a small park.

One night I was coming back through the strip following a long walk. I stopped outside the Presse Cafe, where two benches stand adjacent on the sidewalk. The side of the cafe facing the street was open, its windows removed, and several men were sitting with their legs dangling over the sidewalk. Other seemingly gay men were sitting on one of the benches, and several stood on the sidewalk.

A woman of about eighteen, sitting on the other bench, spare changed me and others as they walked by. A man in his 40s who was standing on the sidewalk told the woman in an authoritative voice to stop spare changing there.

"Who are you?" the woman asked.

"The owner," the man said.

The woman hesitated several seconds, moved a short distance down the street, sat down against a fence and continued to panhandle.

The exchange was over within seconds. However, I subsequently attempted to reach the owner to ask him questions about the incident. Despite several calls I was unable to contact him (he runs four businesses, I later learned). When I did finally reach him and set up a meeting, he ultimately canceled it. As my deadline loomed, he remained too busy. He had, though, outlined his basic position: "No solicitation in or in front of the cafe."

The power trip above occurs in the context of a queer milieu turned stiffly mainstream—when it is not openly conservative. Articulating this neo-conservatism are ideologues such as Bruce Bauer, author of *A Place at the Table: The Gay Individual in American Society*. As the title indicates, the emphasis here is on mainstream acceptance. Featured by spokespeople of this ilk are issues such as gay marriage and gays in the military. On a street level, this neo-conservatism translates into anti-panhandler sentiment in North American gay villages.

A new player in the panhandler debate on a local level is the Village Merchants and Professionals Association. The Association's founding meeting was held in a Village restaurant on August 16, 1999. An article on



Moose.

the meeting published in *Les Faubourgs*, a neighbourhood journal, said the Association would be putting on a number of events in the Village. Association members also "intended to act to 'clean up'" Sainte-Catherine street, the piece ominously reported. I called *Les Faubourgs* to try to get an account of what was said about panhandlers at the meeting. The person I talked to was a member of the organization who had attended the meeting but refused to tell me what was said. Instead he referred me to the Association spokesperson, Rofanne Normandin. I interviewed Normandin and Sylvain Toussignant (the Association's President) at an early September fund-raiser put on in the Village by the new organization. Speaking in a low, insistent voice, Toussignant set the tone by stating that panhandlers are "mal vu" ("looked upon in a poor light") in the Village. It was not a question of driving them out, he said at the beginning of the interview, but he later contradicted himself, referring to a clean-up in "all senses," panhandlers included. A "crystal-clear image" ("une image

claire et nette") of the Village was needed, he said. Squeegees "could be doing other things," he stated. At one point he referred to organizations which deal with poor and marginal people, saying perhaps they could intervene. Since the Association has just been founded, it does not have an official position yet, he said.

A source of several problematic articles has been the Montreal gay monthly *RG*. In a July '97 piece, editor Alain Bouchard complained of dirt and graffiti in the Village and what he termed "harassing squeegees and multiplying beggars." The situation has become "demoralizing," opined Bouchard.

The following month another piece was published, written this time by *RG* journalist Roger-Luc Chayer under the title "Police More and More Handcuffed." Citing "innumerable" punks, prostitution, drug use, squeegees and homeless people, Chayer complained that a "major infestation" was taking place. He then emits a cry of anguish: "What the devil is the police doing with respect to this proliferation of socio-criminal

problems?" In the article Chayer recounts an 11-hour stint he did accompanying cops in their patrol car. The cops duly complain that prisons are revolving doors and people are let out because there isn't enough space. Taxpayers' money is used to paint defendants as victims, the cops beef.

Another *RG* article denounces numerous tags someone had done in the Village. The incident is used by Chayer to encourage people to snitch on anyone doing graffiti in the Village: "Any person seeing an individual, man or woman, doing a graffiti [in the Village] is asked to communicate immediately with 911."

Another collaboration with the police is recounted by Michael Hendricks in his column in the now-defunct tabloid *Village*. The cops had asked the anti-violence committee Hendricks was a member of to lend assistance following a heated public debate concerning arrests of gays in a cruising area. Hendricks's organization agreed to produce a flyer outlining the current laws on nudity and sexual activity. In the incident Hendricks describes, three gays and two lesbians troop off to gay and nudist beaches to hand out flyers—to mixed reaction from those leafleted. The cops were "delighted" with the collaboration, Hendricks wrote. In the piece he not surprisingly takes a jab at "the clique of 1970s-style liberationists who defend our 'right' to do anything, anywhere."

During the 1998 municipal elections, three gays and a lesbian ran for the New Montreal Party. The party is headed by former Montreal Chief of Police Jacques Duchesneau, best known for having instituted community policing in Montreal. Douglas Buckley-Couvrette, one of the candidates, had stood in the previous election for the Democratic Coalition (centre-left). Another party-switcher was Louise Roy, former president of the Montreal Citizens Movement (another centre-left party). A third candidate was Serge Lareault, former editor of *L'itinéraire*, a paper sold by street people. In an interview in *RG*, Lareault criticized the ruling Vision Montreal Party for cuts to the police force, saying New Montreal intends to hire 500 more cops. Community policing is hailed as a success for gays, and New Montreal is praised for having more gays and lesbians (he claims). In an interview Duchesneau has said he wants to seal off abandoned buildings in the Village, in part to keep out the homeless.

The four queer New Montreal candidates received the endorsement of a local gay and lesbian umbrella group.

Toronto

In Ontario (which adjoins and is to the west of Quebec), the Conservative Party was recently re-elected on a tax cut and law and order programme. In early September 1999, Attorney-General Jim Flaherty was quoted as saying

Ontarians should not have to put up with "interference with people on the sidewalk" or what he termed "aggressive, intimidating behavior." Jailing offenders was not ruled out, Flaherty said.

An important player in the Toronto Village is gay city Councillor Kyle Rae. Concerning curbing squeegees, Rae's line is that he is just reacting to local complaints: "I've had about 30 calls from businesses and residents in the Church and Wellesley area [the Toronto Gay Village]. That's a high number of calls on any particular issue."

Shortly before the '99 Toronto Pride celebrations, Rae became the object of a denunciatory poster campaign. A series of nine posters took Rae to task on issues such as the closing of a downtown hostel for the homeless in his riding and restricted access for street people to a community centre. "Kyle Rae led a city campaign against street kids' efforts to support themselves through squeegeeing," one poster charged, while another read, "Kyle Rae supported a police campaign to close back rooms at gay bars along Church St. Thanks for nothing, Kyle."

The posters were a "rather cowardly exercise," Rae predictably responded, confirming, however, that he is against public sex. He has also asked people not to go nude at the annual Pride March.

Some gay village panhandlers of course are queer themselves. In an interview in the Toronto biweekly *Xtra!*, Moose, a bi, transsexual panhandler excoriated the "childish recreational war against squeegees" occurring in Toronto. His squeegee was taken away and broken by the cops, he recounted, and he was threatened with arrest if he is seen squeegeeing. He now avoids certain areas he used to frequent. "Cops have gone to any lengths to stop panhandling and squeegeeing in Toronto," he says.

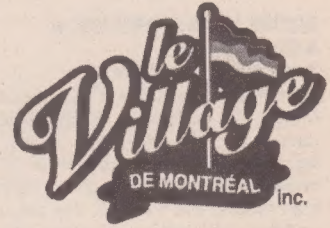
The Toronto Village has also had to deal with gay...nazis! Shortly before the '99 Pride events, several flags were hung out along a seventh-floor Village balcony. They included a Canadian flag, a rainbow one with a white swastika on it, and a flag with an iron cross. A large sign denounced the annual Dyke March as "hypocritical to gay pride."

Hitler, of course, put gays into concentration camps. But present-day gay nazis can lay claim to a lineage—the original Storm Troopers, the SA. Numerous SA higher-ups were gay, including the leader, Ernst Roehm, who was executed soon after Hitler took power. The need for a street-brawling force had come to an end and Hitler intended to shunt aside the SA in favour of the more elite, ideologically pure (and loyal) SS.

Michael Kühnen is an example of a modern-day gay nazi who uses the SA as a model. Kühnen became perhaps the most influential German neo-nazi organizer until his death from AIDS. He sponsored and hand-picked the leader of National

Alternative, the first East German neo-nazi organization to emerge as the Berlin Wall fell. He would later author a manifesto entitled "National Socialism and homosexuality" in which he said that anti-gay sentiment among neo-nazis was caused by the influence of "Jewish-Christian petit-bourgeois morals." A faction of disillusioned former Kühnen disciples eventually emerged, denouncing gays as "traitors to the People."

But nazis remain marginal in the queer milieu. It is the mainstream that is the bigger problem. Sorely needed is an explosion of radical queer voices.



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Flyer for the Village Association of Merchants and Professionals.

Anarchy is once again exchanging with all other anarchist and genuinely radical (anti-state, anti-capitalist) periodicals. And we will continue to try to review all such periodicals received in future issues. All reviews in this issue are by Jason McQuinn, except those marked [L] for Lawrence Jarach or [RIR] for Rob los Ricos.

Publishers please note: To ensure that your publications are reviewed in future issues, send all zines and magazines to our current reviewer address: C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, USA.

ACTIVE TRANSFORMATION

A Direct Action

Anarchist Newspaper

Vol.2, #5/Sept.-Oct.'99 (POB 11508, Detroit, MI 48211; or POBB 6746, Lansing, MI 48826; e-mail: activetrans@hotmail.com) is a 20-page tabloid featuring activist news from around the world. In this issue: updates on imprisoned Krasnador (Russia) anarchists, United Freedom Front prisoners, Mumia Abu-Jamal's case, and Shell in Nigeria, along with a centerfold section titled "Youth Power: Fight for the Future." Subscriptions are \$6/6 issues. [JM]

ANARCHY

The Way I See It

undated (Robert Ogman, POB 2671, Gainesville, FL 32602-2671) is a small, unpaginated mini-pamphlet laying out one person's views on anarchy—with an emphasis on personal morality and a critical view of leftism. Send a contribution for a copy. [JM]

ANNARKIA

Experimental issue zero/undated (c/o Kacper Jarecki, 4114 9th Ave., #4F, Brooklyn, NY 11232) is a two-page "zine," which has a chaotic lay-out to fit its folded format. Has a brief rant "Anarchy is Now," a few reviews of other teen-zines and not much else. Free. [RIR]

THE BLACK-CLAD MESSENGER

Actualizing Industrial Collapse

#2-#3/undated (POB 11331, Eugene, OR 97401) is an energetic, promising new 8 to 16-page zine that "wants to hasten the disappearance of this whole stinking order." No truck with liberalism or leftism here. The third issue has an impressive overview of "What's Happening in Kosovo? An Anarchist's Perspective," a reprinting of the "Preface to the Second Edition of *Elements of Refusal*" by John Zerzan, and a centerfold insert consisting of posters for the Free Skool in Eugene and against war. Send a contribution for a copy. [JM]

COM-LETE CON-TROL

#3/undated (POB 5021, Richmond, VA 23220) is an unpaginated little

personal/political zine featuring accounts of squatting, road trips, recent demos attended, a revolutionary tourist trip to Chiapas, and an interview with George Jackson Brigade member Ed Mead (released from 18 years of prison in 1993) on "Armed Struggles in America." This is a simple, amusing, entertaining zine. Sample copies are 55¢ each or 2 for \$1. [JM]

THE DEFENESTRATOR

throwing power out the window

#7/Aug.'98 & #8/Nov.'98 (POB 30922, Philadelphia, PA 19104) is an 8-page tabloid newspaper featuring news about anarchist activities, with a focus on—but not limited to—Philadelphia. Free. [RIR]

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

#93/Jan.-Feb. & #94/Mar.-April '99 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) is a 32-page assortment of letters and reprinted articles primarily from the anti-market, non-statist radical milieu. Each issue usually includes several ongoing debates over the meanings of communism, Marxism, unionism, democracy and revolution, with some occasionally interesting and enlightening comments. The March-April issue includes John Bekken's (mild) criticisms of Noam Chomsky, and a debate over whether the ruling class "conspires" or "does what comes naturally." Wide open to participation from readers. Subscriptions are \$3/year (6 issues). [JM]

FERAL

a journal towards wildness

#1/Spring '99 (530 Divisadero, #321, San Francisco, CA 94117; e-mail: highwater@hotmail.com) is a beautiful new quarterly, 30-page zine (with a very nice full-color cover) that wants to put a lot more wildness into the ecology & anarchist movements. Unfortunately, the contents are disappointing, with poor writing, a lack of editing, and less than consistent reasoning evident in too many articles of this first issue. Contents include Joanne Lauck on "The Transformative Power of the Wild" (speaking primarily of insect/human encounters), Patricia Freund's incoherent tract on "Endangered Species: Techno-Humanism and Vanishing Humanity—A Beginner's Guide" (in dire need of editing and re-writing), James Barnes' absurd sermon on "Biocentrism as a Moral Imperative," and David Orton's confused attempt at the amalgamation of leftism and

deep ecology in "My Path to Left Biocentrism." On the brighter side, this issue also includes a couple pages of often-stimulating questions titled "The Politics of Daily Life," along with a couple decent reprints from *Anarchy* magazine by Feral Faun ("Feral Revolution") and John Zerzan ("Postscript to Future Primitive: On the Transition"). This zine shows some promise. Let's hope for more coherent writing next time. The cover price is \$3. [JM]



FIFTH ESTATE

#353/Summer '99 (4632 Second Ave., Detroit, MI 48201) is the long-running, 28-page anti-civilization, anarcho-primitivist tabloid, often publishing some of the more intelligent writing in the radical milieu. Unfortunately, though, the Summer '99 issue includes one of the more bizarre cover stories I've ever seen in any established anarchist periodical, Montezuma's "The State: A Space Alien Experiment Gone Wrong?" Also included is some more conventional coverage of protests against the continuing attempts to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal, John Zerzan on "Anarchy in Eugene," and Noam Chomsky on "Kosovo: The Empire at War." Single copies are \$2; subscriptions are \$8/4 issues. [JM]

FREEDOM

Anarchist Fortnightly

Vol.60, #5/Mar.'99 thru #13/June 26 '99 (84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England) is a long-

running 8-page tabloid of anarchist news and comment covering international, as well as British, social struggles. The June 26th issue includes a rough analysis of the British anarchist movement titled "Bedsit anarchists and provincial anarchism," as well as an interesting account of "The Libertarian Ideal in Bolivia: The situation in El Chapare" (in which coca-growing peasants have had to organize for military self-defense against Bolivian government attempts to monopolize the drug trade. North American subscriptions are £22/year (24 issues).

GREEN ANARCHIST

For the destruction of Civilization

#54-5 (double issue)/Spring '99 (BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, England) is an always interesting 28-page eco-anarchist, anti-civilization tabloid with a big emphasis on direct actions, but unfortunately small type. The Spring issue has a GAndALF court case update by co-defendant Paul Rogers titled "Breaking the Teeth of Leviathan" (for those who haven't yet heard, the GAndALF defendants were all released after a £10 million prosecution!), a reprint from John Zerzan's "Nihilist's Dictionary" column, Glenn Parton's call for "Humans-in-the-Wilderness," a reprint of John Moore's less than convincing essay on "Bewilderness," along with his more coherent call to "Maximalist Anarchism, Anarchist Maximalism." Each issue also includes a "Diary of Ecodefense," a "Diary of Animal Liberation," and a "Diary of Community Resistance" (for those patient enough to sort through hundreds of headlines), as well as reviews, commentary and much more. This zine is well worth the price at £5/5 issues.

HARBINGER

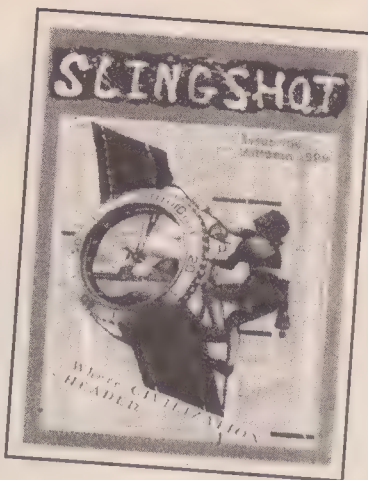
Leaving the 20th Century

#2/undated (Crimethinc, 2695 Rangewood Dr., Atlanta, GA 30345) is an important new 12-page tabloid which takes the idea of a "revolution of everyday life" more seriously than most. An interesting mix of provocation, critique, radical evangelism & anti-evangelism, and calls to utopian action. This issue includes an amusing rant aimed at anarcho-leftists titled "Face it, your politics are boring as fuck" by Nadia C., an analysis of spectacular culture titled "We Look for Life in the Image of Life," and a lengthy examination of "What's so Bad about Capitalism?" Here's a sample quote from the latter: "Don't be paralyzed by the seeming vastness of the forces arrayed against us, or be tricked into serving other forces against them. Find ways to escape...in your own life, and take others with you when you can...." Send for a copy today. The price is right. It's free for the asking, though it might be nice to include a donation. [JM]

THE LEVELLER

For Class War Anarchism

Vol.3,#2/Autumn 1999 (POB 712191, Los Angeles, CA 90071) is a 40-page photocopied zine advocating "the methods of Revolutionary Syndicalism to win the class war against the corruption of the rich and powerful." Included in this issue are international news updates on the brewing U.S. war against the people of Colombia in the name of the "War on Drugs," recent labor news shorts from around the world, and a few announcements of the dissolution of anarchist groups (incongruously including a reprint of the Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade's wicked parody of the Love & Rage group's break-up announcement). There's also a commentary on "Political Correctness," a confession of a "Commie Dupe," and a jumbled list of "What Anarchism Is Not." Sample copies are \$3; subscriptions are \$12/4 issues.



SLINGSHOT

Issue #66/Autumn '99 (3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705, web: <http://www.tao.ca/slingshot>; e-mail: slingshot@tao.ca) is a long-running, 12-page tabloid quarterly now sponsored by the Long Haul Infoshop and focussing on anarchist action in the East Bay area. This issue includes a call to shut down Seattle during the November WTO (World Trade Organization) summit, updated information on the Lori Berenson arrest in Peru (a United States citizen charged with aiding Tupac Amaru, the MRTA), an argument for more "Radical Porn: Combining the Absurd with the Vulgar," S.F. Bay Area Critical Mass (a militantly pro-bike, anti-auto activist group) coverage, and coverage on the Jubilee 2000 international debt forgiveness campaign, along with much more. Subscriptions are still cheap at \$1/issue (\$2/issue by First Class mail).

UTOPIAN ANARCHIST PARTY

#82/undated (POB 12244, Silver Spring, MD 20908; www.overthrow.com; e-mail: nrkybill@erols.com) is a provocative 10-page newsletter targeted primarily at high-school age youth, promoting angry anti-cop, anti-school, anti-authority actions, and celebrating anti-cop violence just about wherever it comes from. This issue, the first since the Columbine school shootings last Spring, features inflammatory coverage of the Eugene June 18th Reclaim The Streets protest, a "Malignant Chemist" how-to column on improvised shotguns, a reprint of an essay encouraging cops to desert their jobs (titled "What Do You Think You're Doing Officer?") by Rob Thaxton. Many people with a visceral hatred of cops will enjoy this zine, while others may be appalled at the fairly indiscriminate cheerleading for anti-cop violence. Subscriptions are free.

A small selection of anarchist/alternative Web sites

Compiled by Alex Trotter

I can't make any pretense of putting together a comprehensive list that would cover everything of interest to anarchists and their friends. These sites all have their own lists of linked sites, so the adventure of exploration is yours, if you feel that the Internet/WWW has any value (and not all anarchists do). From time to time I'll add sites to this list, or correct addresses that have changed or disappeared.

Spunk Press Anarchist Archives
www.spunk.org

USENET groups and mailing lists of interest to anarchists
flag.blackened.net/liberty/lists.html

Blackout Books (New York City)
www.panix.com/blackout/index.html

Mid-Atlantic Infoshop (anarchist librarians, pirate radio, and much more)
burn.ucsd.edu/mal

Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade
world.std.com/bbrigade

Max Stirner related material
pierce.ee.washington.edu/davisd/egolst/stlrner

Zerowork
www.disgruntled.com

AUT-OP-SY (autonomist and ultraleft marxism)
lists.village.virginia.edu/spoons/aut_html

Grassroots Environmental Index
www.wadham.ox.ac.uk/rhouston/index/index.cgi

GreenNet
www.gn.apc.org

Situationist archive
www.nothingness.org/SI/index.html

"The Ultimate Luther Blissett Web Site"
www.geocities.com/Area51/Rampart/6812

The Daily Bleed (sinners and saints galore)
www.eskimo.com/recall/bleed/calmast.htm

Emperor Norton
www.notfrisco.com/nortoniana

Victor Serge
users.skynet.be/johneden

Wilhelm Reich
www.orgone.org

Society for Human Sexuality
www.sexuality.org

Surrealist writers
www.creative.net/alang/lit/surreal/writers.sht

Cabaret Voltaire
www.mital-u.ch/Dada/cabvolte.html

New Social & Cultural Movements
www.lancs.ac.uk/users/csec/shiftingground/

Communitas (news around the world)
www.ecn.org/communitas/

The Post-Technology Project
www.bestweb.net/jfiliss/

Bindlestiff Family Cirkus
(erotic fire shows, sword swallowers, bug eaters, etc.)
www.atomicage.com/bindle

Witches, wiccans and pagans
www.witchvox.com

Cypherpunks home page
[ftp://ftp.csua.berkeley.edu/pub/cypherpunks/Home.html](http://ftp.csua.berkeley.edu/pub/cypherpunks/Home.html)

List of anonymous remailers
www.cs.berkeley.edu/raph/remailer-list.html

The Congress of Clowns

Reviewed by Alex Trotter

The Congress of Clowns and Other Russian Circus Acts by Joel Schechter (Kropotkin Club of San Francisco, 1998) 96pp., \$10.00 paper.

Although not a comprehensive history, this brief anecdotal account, handsomely produced, of Russian circus acts over the last century introduces several important figures and describes some of their pantomimes and other acts, against the backdrop of the machinations of Soviet and post-Soviet politicians, who themselves appear as clowns. Many of the anecdotes are drawn from the author's several visits to Russia. The book is not strictly about the circus, and also deals with political theater and literature of the absurd. Writers, playwrights, poets, and other artists such as Bulgakov, Brodsky, Meyerhold, Stanislavsky, Mayakovsky, Komar & Melamid, and many others make their appearances in Schechter's circus.

Throughout most of the history of the USSR, circus performers, like other artists, had to be inventive in adapting to, and circumventing wherever possible, the censorious demands of the regime. This often necessitated the use of Aesopian language, to which the circus was well suited. The latitude for political satire was especially restricted under Stalin, and again under Brezhnev. The need for this kind of subterfuge ended with the glasnost era, but with the arrival of free market capitalism, everyday life in Russia has continued to be painfully absurd and the political life of the country more of a circus than ever. Examples cited are a drunken Boris Yeltsin taking the baton away from an orchestra conductor to conduct the musicians himself, and Vladimir Zhirinovsky threatening to sue a satirist who impersonated him.

We meet Vladimir Durov, a figure whose career began in czarist times, who worked with trained pigs and ridiculed politicians. Durov was run out of many towns across Russia, and arrested in Germany for making fun of the kaiser. After the Revolution of 1917, Durov and other circus performers such as Vitaly Lazarenko supported the Bolsheviks, but even in the early days of the USSR, when a lot of experimental culture was going on, there was tension between the Soviet government and circus artists. In the 1920s a clown act by the name of Bim and Bom performed a routine called *The Laugh*, in which a Red Army detachment becomes paralyzed with laughter. A satirical novel by Ilf and Petrov called *The Twelve Chairs*, written during the New Economic Policy period, featured a character named Ostap Bender, a

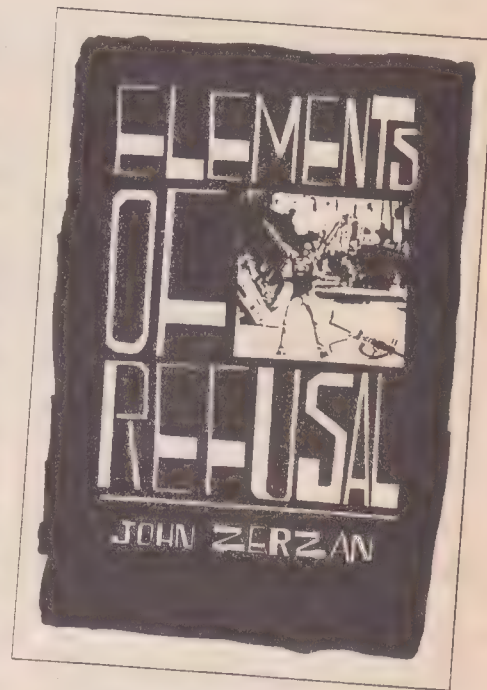
capitalist rogue NEP-man who has a Midas-touch of decay and disintegration. Anatole Lunacharsky, the People's Commissar of Education, who was sophisticated enough to have appreciated such humor, nevertheless felt compelled to warn that popular sympathy for such a type assumes the nature of anarchism.

Schechter provides a lengthy description of a production from 1929 titled *Makhno's Men* as a prime example of state-directed political circus in the transition toward complete Stalinized mummification. This production broke no ground artistically, but is unusual in that it was specifically dedicated to the theatrical calumnification of Nestor Makhno years after his defeat on the battlefield, a testament to the Bolsheviks' continuing insecurity and nightmare that they might once again see black flags flying in Ukraine. *Makhno's Men* featured action scenes, with Red Cavalry chasing anarchists on horseback in the circus ring, and vilified Makhno as a coward, drunkard, womanizer, and spokesman for kulaks, but avoided any mention of his anarchist politics or his brief alliance with the Red Army against Denikin's White forces in 1919.

At several points Schechter mentions that Russian circus directors treat their animals well, training them in a gentle manner, but then he jokes (?) that this would still not live up to today's standards of animal liberation in Western society. The question of circus animals' welfare arose during a food shortage in 1991, when the animals of the Moscow Circus were close to starvation. The circus director Yuri Nikulin vowed to lead a demonstration in Red Square, complete with animals in cages, if the animals were not provided with rations. If police came to confront the demonstrators, the cages would be opened so the animals could fight the police. Gorbachev agreed to give the animals enough food.

Schechter says that, for all the travails the Russian circus has had to endure, the state of mainstream circus in the United States leaves much to be desired. The old vaudeville tradition is dead, and mainstream acts like Ringling Brothers are primarily entertainers of children, avoiding controversial subjects like sex and politics.

The Congress of Clowns is a quick and pleasurable read, informed by the spirit of Groucho Marx and Charlie Chaplin as well as Bakhtin's Rabelaisian carnivalesque, and spiced with wry chuckles, even if some of the humor centering around the cold war already seems dated and therefore flat. May this book generate more interest in Russian clowns and political satire in general.



"Everyone can feel the nothingness, the void, just beneath the surface of everyday routines and securities." -from the Preface

Elements of Refusal is the first collection of John Zerzan's writings—and this Second Edition of the collection is long overdue. No less than as they first appeared, these essays are provocative and important.

Present day "reality," as constituted by those with vested interests in maintaining this domination, is touted as the "best" possible reality. Accordingly, history is shaped like a monstrous land-fill to legitimize this hoax.

Daily life, with its intensifying alienations and psychopathology becomes more spectacular and bizarre. *All is not well in Utopia*. We grow more dependent on glitter and diversion to fill the void where all that is human is gutted. Life is reduced to a game. *But there is nowhere to play*. Every technological innovation promising to bring us closer together drives us further apart; every revolution promises to liberate us from want, but leaves us more in need.

Elements of Refusal spells it all out. Here it is axiomatic that art, language, time, industrialism, number, technology, work and other aspects of our social lives—all hailed as the liberators of humanity—are, in fact, the co-conspirators of domestication and domination.

Columbia Alternative Library
C.A.L. Press/Paleo Editions
 POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205
 \$14.95 + \$2.05 p&h = \$17.00 total

Film and the Anarchist Imagination

Reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

Film and the Anarchist Imagination by Richard Porton (Verso, 180 Varick St., New York, NY, 10014-4606, 1999) 314pp., \$20.00 paper.

I watch films from a couple of different perspectives. First, I watch as a movie spectator; does the story make sense, are the actors believable? Second, I watch as a person who knows a little film/theater theory; are there interesting/unusual things happening cinematically, are the shots/tableaux set up well? Third, I watch as an antiauthoritarian; does the story reinforce hierarchical social relations, capitalist morality, American supremacy, or does it promote self-activity, mutual aid, and other values consistent with an anarchic vision? In short, is the film entertaining, is it esthetically pleasing, and is it consonant with my values? I ordered Porton's book merely because I liked the title: both *Film* and *Anarchist* are in it. Finally, I thought, a study of anarchist cinema, and a serious one at that.

But there are some problems with it on the same level. Verso is a leftist publishing house, but since Porton situates anarchism on the left, he doesn't take the usual hostile stance of leftists towards anarchists. Porton is on the editorial board of *Cineaste*, a magazine of film theory and criticism, and he teaches cinema studies (not film studies, but *cinema* studies). As a serious high-brow art-cinema critic, he really likes the highly intellectual *Cahiers du cinema* folks from France, which is why he spends so much time on an analysis of the not-very-anarchist *Tout va bien* by the Maoist Godard, even though Godard wasn't then, isn't now, and won't ever be an anarchist.

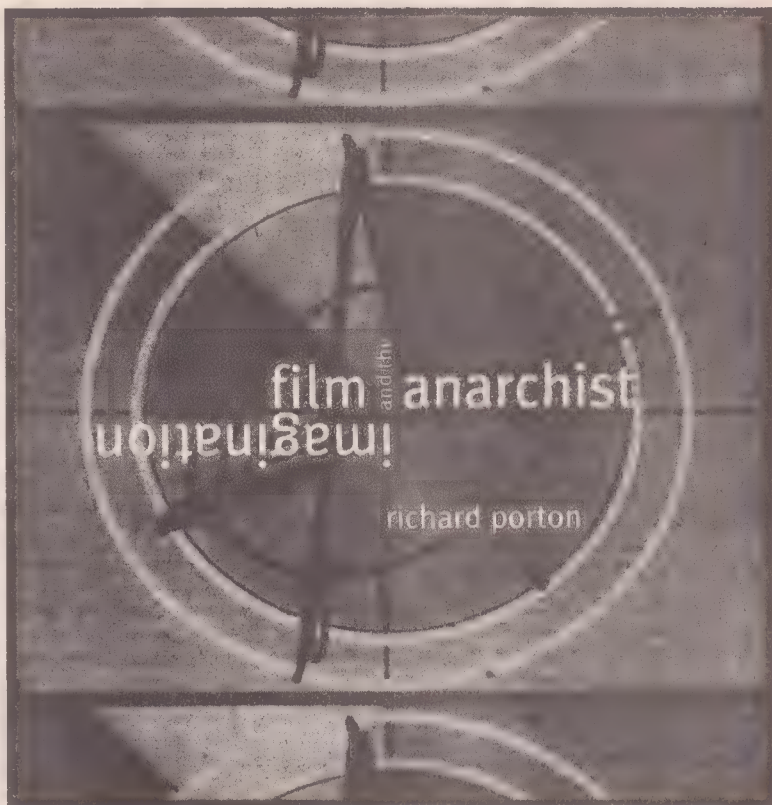
Not many American films are anarchic except in a screwball sort of way (like movies starring the Marx Brothers), but Porton privileges European films as a matter of course. No mention is made of the notorious flop *Heaven's Gate*, which had the word "anarchist" thrown around all over the place, and had a climax of armed self-defense, which is fully consistent with anarchist politics. *Behold a Pale Horse*, admittedly a second-rate film, is given short shrift even though it's loosely based on the exploits of the famous Catalan anarchist activist/propagandist/saboteur/guerrilla Sabate, while some French musical, *A nous la liberté*, without any portrayal of anarchists and without an anarchist theme gets a bunch of pages of laudatory analysis.

Another problem is that by privileging often obscure European films, Porton makes it difficult for interested anarchist film-lovers to track them down in local video stores. The

ones that are more famous might be available at a better rental outlet, but most of the titles are either not available in the US or they aren't available on video at all. Porton is in line with most high-brow intellectuals in this respect; those of us who aren't on the same level can't get access to the knowledge that's in the field of his expertise, so we just have to take his word for it. Such a differential in power is unacceptable to anti-authoritarians.

Porton has a decent grasp of anarchist politics, but his devotion to cinema—artistic and sophisticated cinema—is more powerful. He lauds questionable (not very anarchist) works while ignoring others that are either specifically about, or written by, anarchists. The comedy *S*P*Y*S* (directed by Irwin Kershner, who also directed *The Empire Strikes Back*) is ignored, even though half the film is about a trio of French anarchists (for a more detailed review of *S*P*Y*S* see *Black Badger* #3 available for \$2.00 from POB 508, Berkeley, CA 94701). And how can he have overlooked one of the finest American films of the '50s, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, based on the novel written by noted anarchist B. Traven? Other film adaptations of Traven's novels have appeared in Mexico, and are only rarely shown in the United States, but almost everyone knows the famous lines from *Treasure*: "Badges? Badges?...We ain't got to show you no stinking badges!"

There is one chapter that stands out in terms of dealing with current anarchist theory; it deals with anarcho-syndicalism and the revolt against work. While not taking too seriously the anti-work discourse (he is, after all, a leftist), Porton nevertheless acknowledges that it is part of anarchist theory. He does have a patronizing dismissal of "primitivism": "...the term 'primitive' [has] been appropriated—and pushed to a frequently



absurd limit—by self-styled 'future primitives' such as John Zerzan, an anti-work advocate whose *contempt* for modernity encompasses such *disparate* targets as agriculture, tonality, postmodernist theory, and even speech" (my italics). In fact, Zerzan has constantly attempted to show the interconnectedness of these "disparate" features of modernity in his critiques.

Another quibble I have is that he incorrectly quotes Bob Black's essay "Anarchism and Other Impediments to Anarchy": "...Black claims that even anarchists have become prey to ideological rigidity and argues that 'we need anarchists unencumbered by anarchy' [sic!]." Of course Bob said "we need anarchists unencumbered by anarchism." There's a world of difference between Porton's incorrect quote and the actual quote from Bob's essay; I'm willing to give Porton the benefit of the doubt on this mistake since it appears in a footnote, but I'm not certain that he understands the difference.

With all that said, it's worth checking out this book if you like movies and are interested in seeing where anarchist theory and cinematic entertainment and education intersect.

All-American Anarchist

Reviewed by Julie Herrada

All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement, Carlotta R. Anderson (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1998) 324pp., \$34.95 hardcover.

As a native Detroiter, I was raised with a belief in the strength of the labor movement, the power of the unions, and the importance of the Almighty Henry Ford to the economic life of Detroit.

For many labor radicals, the era of the Model T is when the industrial history of Detroit began. However, Anderson's book about pre-Ford Detroit breathes life into a generation of radicals whose names today are obscure. Even when I came to work as Assistant Curator at the University of Michigan's Labadie Collection, the foremost collection of anarchist materials in North America, I was not aware of the significance of the people whose names filled its shelves. I am grateful to Anderson for sharing the history, because Henry Ford doesn't deserve so much recognition.

Jo Labadie (1850-1933) began life among the remnants of the Pottawatomi tribes in Paw Paw, a small southwestern Michigan outpost, with his father, Anthony Cleophas Labadie, of Ojibway and French ancestry, and a French-Canadian mother, Euphrosyne Angelique Labadie. (His parents were distant cousins). Labadie's godmother was Ojibway.

The story Anderson (Labadie's grandchild) tells of her French-Indian pioneer ancestors, living in the wilderness, is one we don't often hear. The fragments she has painstakingly pieced together to tell this story had been saved by Labadie, a notorious packrat, and carefully preserved by his devoted wife and companion, Sophie, and passed down to the author by her uncle, Laurance Labadie, Jo's son, also an anarchist, who died in 1975.

The Labadie family moved from Paw Paw to East Sandwich, Ontario, a small settlement on the Detroit River, when Jo was a boy. Reading of the Labadie family's friendships with the Indians of Walpole Island—Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomi—brought to mind Fredy Perlman's *The Strait*, with its dreamy and captivating imagery of life along the banks of the Detroit River, and eventual demise of the indigenous tribes at the hands of the "bluecoat" invaders. Although Anderson's story is more prosaic and less violent, its telling evokes a similar picture of this region's history.

The Labadies, the first non-Indian settlers on that land, eventually lost their home to land speculator and whiskey baron, Hiram Walker, who built the distillery which is still in existence today. The ousting of the Labadie family resulted in their move back to south-

western Michigan, among the Pottawatomi, again living a pioneer existence.

This is the life Labadie would always long for, and later help form his individualist anarchist ideals. Simple tribal life, with its emphasis on communal responsibility and economic equality, made a lasting impression on him. The Labadie family's long friendship with the Walpole Island Indians may have even saved their lives during a violent uprising, when the native people spared the lives and homes of those who had befriended them.

As Michigan changed rapidly from pioneer to industrial society, young Jo Labadie, who was trilingual (English, French and Pottawatomi), but with no formal education, learned the printing trade and went on the road as a "tramp printer," in the Northeast. He joined printer's unions in each city where he worked, before settling in Detroit in 1872. This youthful work and wandering formed an indelible mark on this "backwoods boy's" sense of justice, illustrating clearly to him the disparities between the classes. His wandering lifestyle offered valuable lessons in class struggle and social justice.

Like most anarchists, there were contradictions between Labadie's personal and political lives. He was an atheist legally married to a pious Catholic, his first cousin, Sophie Archambeau. However, this unlikely union seemed to pose no threat to his principles. Both Jo and Sophie remained true to their ideals, respectful of the other's and totally devoted to each other. Sophie, in fact, helped Jo by organizing and preserving the vast array of materials which would in 1912 become the birth of the Labadie Collection.

Although Labadie's printing skills offered mainly itinerant work and a sporadic paycheck, it allowed him to promote his political ideology. He rallied around many causes of the day, including socialism, Greenbackism, the single-tax, and unionism, finding it "difficult to resist any project organized to cure society's ills."

He, along with fellow printer Judson Grenell, published a number of socialist newspapers and pamphlets, and early on was very active in the Socialist Labor Party. His indefatigable drive led to political and journalistic activity which would keep Labadie busy all his life, first as an ardent socialist, working to gain "more now" for all workers, then by 1883, as an anarchist, "emerging as



a proponent of extreme individual freedom in a stateless society."

Anderson rightly questions some of Labadie's inconsistencies, which ranged from reformist to revolutionary, pointing out curious un-anarchistic remarks and actions to reveal a paradox common among anarchists in capitalist society. "Non of us are really anarchists, only believers in anarchism" he explained. Anderson carefully maps for the reader Labadie's political development, tracking his socialist tendencies and support of trade unionism to his eventual abhorrence of party politics and support of the natural laws of individualist anarchism.

Anderson traces the historic events of the day, from the post-civil war Panic of 1873, which lasted six years, to the anti-union fervor of the mid-1880s, culminating in the 1886 Haymarket tragedy, and Labadie's reaction to these tumultuous times. After meeting Johann Most, following an 1883 Detroit speech by the German-born firebrand, Labadie defended the radical anarchist with uncharacteristically fierce rhetoric, signaling a turn in his own political thought.

After the execution of the four anarchists convicted of the Haymarket bombing, Labadie went head-to-head over the issues

with those whom he previously thought were his closest allies. Even though the Haymarket martyrs hadn't committed the crime for which they died, Labadie's unflinching support of free speech led him to promote even bomb-making if it meant protecting the rights of workers to organize and speak freely.

His insistence on the right of individual expression frequently gained him public attention. Anderson describes an incident in 1908, when Labadie began pasting anarchist stickers on his correspondence before mailing. They were not the broadly interpreted and simplified circle A, but often quotations from venerable authors such as George Bernard Shaw and Lao-Tze.

The Detroit postal inspector, J.J. Larmour declared these pieces "unmailable." Labadie protested and even the *Detroit Journal*, a

mainstream daily, rallied to his cause, accusing the postal authorities of censorship. The inspector relented, and Labadie continued using the stickers.

Labadie's convictions are well documented throughout his vast collection of correspondence. It is rare that such a comprehensive collection of a radical's life remains, let alone is so well-preserved. Anderson uses them skillfully to describe his individualist anarchism, comparing it with the communist anarchism of Most, Emma Goldman, and Lucy Parsons, all of whom Labadie knew, respected, and was influenced by.

Anderson's portrayal of the Labadies could not be more insightful. Because of her place in the family, she not only had most of their papers, but also had knowledge of Jo's disappointment in his children, and the

siblings' own feelings about each other. Her account of Labadie's reflections in his later years are particularly poignant.

In 1911, Labadie donated his voluminous papers, correspondence, self-published pamphlets and poetry to the University of Michigan due to its proximity to his home, as well as its conservative reputation. Jo believed "old moss-back Michigan" could use a little balance on their shelves.

Anderson's lively description of both large and small events in Labadie's life makes for an engaging account of Detroit's historic personalities and politics. This exciting volume has done a great service to the memory of an early anarchist and colorful character, Joseph Antoine Labadie, who has done more to inspire me than any of Detroit's official labor leaders.

Radical fiction: *Resurrection 2027 & A.D.*

Reviewed by Rob los Ricos

Resurrection 2027 by J.G. Eccarius (III Publishing, POB 1581, Gualala, CA 95445, 1995) 192pp., \$7.00 paper.

A.D. by Saab Lofton (III Publishing, P.O. Box 1581, Gualala, CA 95445, 1995) 316pp., \$12.00 paper.

It's good to see dissident literature making a comeback. It's especially good to see someone with the imagination of J.G. Eccarius continue to grow as a writer, especially when that growth takes him further into the dissident viewpoint rather than the mainstream's. Both these novels have some common themes—set in the (already, by now) recent past and near-distant future(s), they trace the development of fascistic/religious societies from out of the current political scene. Saab Lofton's book takes a great leap forward into the 25th century while Eccarius' story ends in 2027. In Lofton's book, there has arisen an egalitarian/liberal technological utopia. Eccarius' book only hints at something better arising from the religiously inspired apocalypse he describes.

Resurrection 2027 tells of the growth of religious warfare in America which leads to nuclear combat, which leads to a nearly sterile planet. A weird cult of Mary-the-mother-of-god becomes supreme and reigns over a small group of survivors of the above-mentioned warfare (and a plague that nearly annihilates the human race). The book's strongest point is the author's faith in (some) people's trust of their own intellect, even in the face of horrendous propagandic pressures to conform to a very rigid social order.

This book is much better written than *The Last Days of Christ the Vampire*, his previous foray into blasphemous novelism, though he falters ever so slightly in the first few pages. You'd think he'd have smoothed out the roughness in the beginning, considering how the rest of the book flows smoothly along. This book wasn't quite as much fun to read as *LDCV*, but it has its moments and will not disappoint the reader who sees it through to the end.

The same can be said of Lofton's book, though, in this case, the rough start continues through the first 124 pages. To think that the Nation of Islam and the White Aryan Resistance will one day come to rule over much of present-day America and that people would willingly go along with it is a bit far-fetched. Not any more so than, say, the election of the Jerry Brown/Jesse Jackson third-party Presidential ticket, which produces the backlash that leads to the NOI/WAR ascendancy. Lofton tries to lend an air of credibility to the rest of the story by giving it a solid foundation in the more familiar-looking present, but he ends up painting a ridiculous, completely unpalatable scenario which makes it difficult to continue reading. For instances, missing from his Black-and-White portrait of America are Native Americans and Hispanics, with only a hint of Asians and not much mention of how the changes in America affected Canada and Mexico or the rest of the world, either. However, once he passes the story into the realm of science-fiction, with the protagonist Elijah Isiah/Fred Hampton Rush being sacrificed to science

for thoughtcrime against the Nation of Islam, the story gets much more interesting. Isiah/Rush wakes up some 380 years later, where everyone he meets still speaks in 20th-century colloquial English and are well-versed in 20th century pop culture and history. It's like no one is aware of all the changes that have taken place to make the modern world of the 25th century the wondrous, green place it is portrayed as being. You'd think these people would know more about the efforts to clean up the mess of the 20th century than they would about the slobos that made it so fucked up in the first place. No, it would seem as if the past happened mostly in the years just prior to and after Fred Hampton Rush went to sleep and nothing that came afterwards, not even the Earth's contact with and admission to the Intergalactic community-at-large was as personally relevant as 70's TV and comic books. The amount of life-lessons that can be derived from comic books is the subject of further inquiry, to be sure, but here it only seems to soften the central character's shock upon entering a future so different from the one he left behind. The lack of cultural growth envisioned by the author is also evidenced by his fawning over technology and the worldwide Berkeleyization of the society—singular, as in nothing else really exists, as in total assimilation of every culture. We are the Borg! Everyone sing! Resistance is useless! Despite all my criticism of this book, I enjoyed it, but often for reasons that I think would offend the author's (obviously) liberal sensibilities.

Off the Map

Reviewed by John Filiss

Off the Map (An Expedition deep into Imperialism, Global Economy, and Other Earthly Whereabouts) by Chellis Glendinning (Shambhala Publications, POB 308, Boston, MA 02117, 1999) 200pp., \$21.95 cloth.

Impressive. After reading Chellis Glendinning's excellent *When Technology Wounds*, and her more ambitious (if less focused) *My Name is Chellis and I'm in Recovery from Western Civilization*, I wasn't prepared for a book as stylized and poetic as *Off The Map*. A refreshing sense of invention marks the writing: the abruptness of staccato sentences offset by longer, dream-like passages...sudden but intelligible shifts in narrative on nearly every page...dystopian imagery, but in a work that never makes you lose hope.

The book's theme, or leitmotif, is maps. Its focus is the immiseration and spiritual aridity of what we call progress.

We are all aware of what technological society has done to the natural world; Chellis pushes further, revealing what our culture has done to us, how it drains our capacity to feel, to experience, to live. We become semblances of human beings, unaware of the earth beneath our feet, the sky above us, the trembling of branches beneath the breeze. The real world in which we live becomes increasingly lost to us, off the map of our society's renderings and requirements.

Off The Map ranges over topics as diverse as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Chellis's desert wanderings with her friend Snowflake Martinez, Winnie The Pooh, highlights in the history of English colonialism, the vicious molestation of her and her brother by their father, bicycles and roads and Manifest Destiny, etc. Despite the range, it is notable that not only is the narrative thread never lost, but each topic seems, without contrivance, to be part of a greater whole.

History itself is recounted with concision, and to real effect. Here is a look at the horrors of the Industrial Revolution in England.

"The empire turns on itself. It always has. The blatant turning against the people and land in faraway places mirrors the same turning within the empire itself. Hinc Abundant Leones. The year is 1770. Lancashire County, England, heartland of Britain, where tales of the infamous Robin Hood still pass from mother to daughter by the crackling hearth. Find it on the map. Life here is good. The weaver is working in his stone cottage. His little ones play as they clean the web; the weaver's wife

cards and spins. The older girls hoe their vegetable garden and walk about the village, gossiping and showing their skirts. The weaver climbs onto his roof to repair the thatching. His family is growing their own carrots and herbs, raising chickens and turkeys, earning twenty shillings a week.

"The year is 1820. Lancashire County. The empire turns on itself. Life is no longer good. In a single generation, the land has been made unrecognizable by the assault of industrialism. The houses, now better described as hovels, are blackened by smoke belching from six-story textile factories. Gardens are dry from neglect and overrun by char-faced vagrants. Just as in India, the local weavers are taxed, and the lower prices of factory-made goods force them to give up. They labor now sixteen hours a

day at machines that dictate the pace in filthy little rooms, earning five shillings a week. For any spinner found with his window open, the penalty is one shilling. For a spinner late to his machine, two shillings. Everything seems lost. The community is broken. The weaver's children are strapped to their stations with hemp, and the foreman stomps down the aisles using a leather piece to whip those who are slumped over, hysterical with fear, or numb with boredom."

Chellis's past works have been important—in fact, her *When Technology Wounds* is still without peer in its category. But *Off The Map* brings her work to a new level, and marks her maturation as one of the most important writers focused on the most important issue of our time—escaping the bondage of our civilization.



The EXIT Collection

Reviewed by Lawrence Jarach

The *EXIT* Collection edited by George Petros (TaciT, Chicago, 1998) \$25.00 paper.

"We are Hate in search of celebrity."
-from the title page

"EXIT—outlaw Liberal Fascist Sci Fi Pop Art magazine, fusion of Social Realism and Surrealism, born of frenzies of beauty and anger, died in hazy sunset of Western history, sustained throughout by dire necessity and the fires of Marijuana & Absinthe and the coolness of cool music & cool sex...pornographic fusion of social hygiene and surly decadence, born in frenzies of Revolution and Crystal Meth...sustained throughout by stolen money...and the excitement of sacrilege..."

-from the introduction by the editor

So what do the likes of Henry Rollins, H.R. Giger, Anton LaVey, Marilyn Manson, Charles Manson, John Wayne Gacy, and many others have in common? They've all contributed to the now-defunct *EXIT* at one time or another. Serial killers, satanists, artists, poets...quite a mixture. According to the review copy cover letter, "back issues of the magazine commonly trade hands between collectors for upwards of \$100, with \$200 or more not being unheard of." There's no accounting for taste; *EXIT* is definitely not mine. When dealing with a project like this, an important question might be "what is the function of transgressive art?"

The texts and graphics in the collection definitely stretch the limits of "good taste" (with their boringly consistent Nazi iconography and violent sexuality), thereby transgressing bourgeois standards of art and morality. Transgression is meant to shock, and much of the material in *EXIT* probably succeeds, if the target audience is a relatively complacent white middle class crowd unfamiliar with the ugly underbelly of American suburban life. The rebellion against American puritanical culture is nothing particularly novel; every generation flirts with some form of it: socialism, free love, radical theater and art, feminism, drug use, "Negro music," unconventional science and/or spirituality...all these things have been around to irritate staid parents and authority figures for the past hundred years or so. What distinguishes the *EXIT* gang from the rest of the crowd is that there appears to be nothing inherently liberating about any of the stuff they have produced; they seem to revel in extremism for the sake of extremism, shock for the sake of shock.

The attempts at social satire, in the form of false historical *New York Times* front pages, fall flat. They are not satire so much as

nonsense. Satire relies on a keen critical ability and a serious awareness of what the real issues of the day are. Then a searing wit is needed, as well as a propensity for being clever and skillful with colloquialisms. All of this is painfully absent in *EXIT*. For all the shortcomings of the Church of the Sub-Genius (and there were shortcomings aplenty), those who partook of its scandals and pranks had humor in their arsenal. Even if the Church was always a self-parody and a colossal inside(r)-joke, it was a joke. *EXIT* took itself far too seriously as Art.

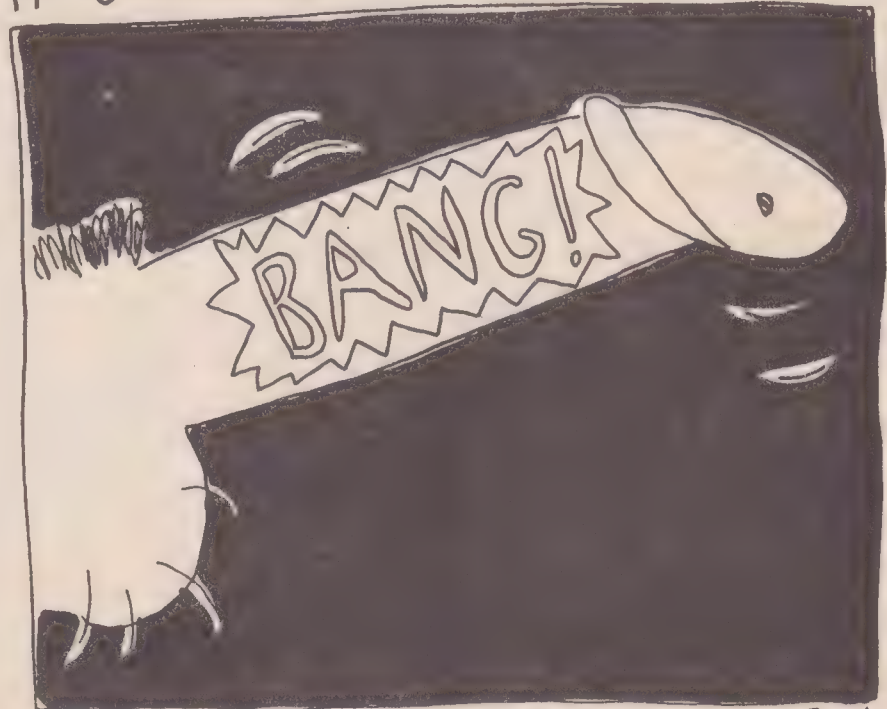
Transgression of cultural norms only requires a passing acquaintance with the icons and symbols of what is loathsome to dominant morals. Nearly everyone who survived the public school system has an idea of what are the most hated symbols and trappings to those who control us; we got in trouble with teachers, counselors, psychologists, cops, and our parents because of our interest in them when we were younger. Many of us grew out of that sort of instinctual attention-grabbing. Some of us didn't. For those who are still stuck in juvenile nose-thumbing, there's *EXIT*. For more sophisticated eurocentrics, there's de Sade. The main problem with antimoralism, however, is that its adherents (whether cruel or indifferent, sadists or nihilists) remain wedded to the constraints of moralism. All they have accom-

plished through their postures of rejection is the creation of a mirror-image of bourgeois morality: bourgeois antimorality. They are totally dependent on the continued existence of bourgeois morality in order for their peers and fans (to say nothing of themselves) to continue to recognize them as rebels and troublemakers.

There's a section in the *EXIT* Collection with quotes and aphorisms by Nietzsche (probably put in because of most people's incorrect association of him with Nazism) and graphics by an assortment of freaks. But the *EXIT* gang, like most others who only read a smattering of his philosophy, miss the most interesting part of Nietzsche's ideas: the transvaluation of values. The more authentically radical and revolutionary project is the transvaluation (not just turning it upside-down) of morality. When humans dispense with the confines of moralism (whether bourgeois or leftist), we can start acting like free individuals; we can base our behavior on solidarity and mutual aid—not because some smart person said we must in order to be in their club, but because we can perceive it to be in our interest.

Even if it is a commitment to the ugliest parts of it, the people who created, contributed, sustained, and paid for *EXIT*, are just another bunch of folks committed to the infinite continuation of the status quo.

H o m o p h o b i d .



Mr. Fish

Although the "Alternative Press Review" column has been missing from recent issues of *Anarchy*, we will attempt to resume exchanges with selected non-anarchist, "alternative" periodicals. And we will continue to review periodicals received in future issues. All reviews in this column are by Jason McQuinn.

Publishers please note: To ensure that your publications are reviewed in future issues, send all zines and magazines to our current reviewer address: C.A.L. Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, USA.

THE BAFFLER

#11/1998 (POB 378293, Chicago, IL 60637) is another kick-ass issue of this 128-page must-read literary/critical journal. This issue features editor Thomas Frank's "Triangulation Nation: Affirming Mediocrity in a Jaded Age" (with its excellent exposure of the insidious success of the Gannett newspaper chain—publisher of *USA Today* and a slew of mediocre monopoly rags), Paul Maliszewski's hilarious (although almost unreadable due to too-small type) "I Am a Fugitive from Business Journalism," Marc Cooper's personal account of his escape from the CIA/ITT coup against Allende's Chile, and Kim Phillips-Fein's succinct summary of "The Wages of Credit" (on the significance of Chapter Eleven bankruptcy in the modern domestic economy). Past numbers have already sold out, so send these folks \$6 immediately for a sample copy, or better yet \$20 for a 4-issue subscription.

THE BODY POLITIC

Vol.9.#3/May-June '99 (POB 2363, Binghamton, NY. 13902; web: www.bodypolitic.org) is an informative 36-page, bimonthly "National Pro-Choice News Report," including "Legislative Watch" in each issue. In the May-June issue editor Anne Bower recounts the Spring anti-abortion actions in Buffalo (a shadow of the 1992 Operation Rescue blockades there), and interviews secular humanist Tom Flynn. Single copies are still \$4 postpaid; subscriptions are now \$25/year.

BROKEN PENCIL

The Guide to Alternative Culture in Canada
#8/Winter '99 (POB 203, Station P, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2S7, Canada; e-mail: halpen@interlog.com) is now an 90-page, semi-annual review magazine, basically aiming to do purely for Canadians what *Factsheet Five* & *Alternative Press Review* have attempted to do for pretty much the entirety of the English-speaking world. And given its much more modest aims, it does better at approximating its goal. This issue's cover story, "Zine Writing the Death of Literature," is a somewhat pretentious introduction to a new generation of Canadian writers and publishers. The issue includes an assessment of the current state of independent Canadian book publishing, a brief history of the Montréal alternative zine scene from the perspective of the editor of *Fish Piss*,

Alternative press review

Compiled by Jason McQuinn

and a "Special Fiction Supplement," along with the usual province by province listing of Canadian zines. Sample copies are \$5; subscriptions are \$12/3 issues in Canada & \$14/3 issues in the U.S.

CAMPUS

Vol.10.#3/Spring '99 (I.S.I., 3901 Centerville Rd, POB 4431, Wilmington, DE 19807-0431; phone: 1-800-526-7022; web site: www.isi.org) is a professionally produced, 24-page right-wing tabloid that bills itself as "the only national student-edited, student-written newspaper for college students." This issue features Marc Levin's "Closing the Pocketbook: Eliminating Mandatory Fees for Political Groups" (aimed at defunding black, ethnic, gay rights, PIRGs, and social activist student groups). Subscriptions are free with (free) I.S.I. membership or \$10/3 issues for non-members.

COVERT ACTION QUARTERLY

#66/Winter '99 (1500 Massachusetts Ave. NW #732, Washington, DC. 20005) is an essential magazine covering the hidden political and economic machinations which maintain US hegemony behind the scenes around the world—every issue containing important revelations. This issue's cover story is Greg Speeter's "More Bucks for the Bang: Tomahawks, Technology and Terror" (on the high-dollar Pentagon budget sending resources down the drain), but the best articles cover the massive US government lies about last year's US bombing of a Sudan pharmaceuticals factory, the current state of the farcical prosecution of two Libyans for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, the long-term goal of Bosnian leader Izetbegovich to create a fundamentalist Islamic state, and the implications of the Pinochet prosecution by Spain. And, of course, there's lots—too much to list it all. You don't know what the real score is or how the US government actually operates if you don't read this magazine. Check it out today! Subscriptions are well worth the \$22/year.

EXTRA!

Vol.12.#1/Jan.-Feb. & #3/May-June '99 (Subscription Services, POB 170, Congers, NY 10920-9930; www.fair.org) is the 28-page bimonthly magazine of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting), a "national media watch group that offers well-documented criticism of media bias and censorship," published from a left-liberal perspective. The March-April issue covers Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's longstanding association with the racist Council of Conservative Citizens (successor to the old White Citizens Councils which

fought the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s & 1960s), along with the covert racism of the conservative American Enterprise Institute "think tank." The May-June issue features criticism of the asinine coverage of Social Security by the corporate press, along with editor Jim Naureckas' attempt to resituate the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia within a more revealing historical context in "Rescued from the Memory Hole." Recommended. Subscriptions are \$19/year (including the bimonthly newsletter, *EXTRA! Update*).

FREE INQUIRY

Celebrating Reason and Humanity

Vol.19.#2/Spring '99 (Box 664, Buffalo, NY 14226-0664) is a slick, professionally-produced 68-page quarterly magazine published by the Council for Secular Humanism. The Spring '99 issue features a series of articles once again warning us about "The Population Bomb" (typically, treated as though the question of population has no wider social or political context beyond that of monopoly capitalism), a short interview with science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke, and a reprint of Barbara Epstein's "Why Postmodernism is Not Progressive" (from the *Socialist Review*). Despite the often shallow level of most articles, including the irritatingly conservative assumptions that capitalism and statism should never be questioned, this magazine remains an important source for current humanist thinking. Subscriptions are \$28.50/year.

GIRLFRIENDS

Vol.5.#7/July '99 (3415 Cesar Chavez St., Suite 101, San Francisco, CA 94110) is a super-glossy, colorful, 48-page advertising-saturated, magazine of "Lesbian Culture, Politics, and Entertainment." The July issue features a cover spotlight on the band Luscious Jackson, and an exploration of the ins and outs of lesbian identity when you start sleeping with men by Joann Loulan. Single copies are \$4.95; subscriptions are now \$29.95/year.

GNOSIS

A Journal of the Western Inner Tradition

#50/Winter '99 & #51/Spring '99 (POB 14820, San Francisco, CA. 94114-0820; web: www.gnosismagazine.com & www.lumen.org) is a well-crafted, nonstuffy, 74 to 80-page quarterly journal of gnostic spirituality. Unfortunately the Spring issue is the last that will appear, as publisher Jay Kinney has announced that "a confluence of circumstances and people that have enabled *Gnosis* to exist up till now have been unraveling at an ever-increasing pace." However, current and back issues remain available. The Winter

issue, on a theme of "Good & Evil," features Jack Boulware on Anton LaVey's disintegrating Church of Satan, and an interview with loose cannon Robert Anton Wilson on conspiracies, aliens, media and Timothy Leary. The Spring issue covers the theme of "The Grail." Sample copies are \$10 postpaid, but back issues are now half price at \$5 each.

HERMENAUT

The Digest of Heady Philosophy

#14/Winter '98 (POB 141, Allston, MA 02134; www.birdhouse.org/words/hermenaut/; e-mail: editors@hermenaut.com) is a handsome 170-page journal of pop philosophy, or the philosophy of pop-culture, or pseudo-philosophical pop, or something like that. In practice it consists of highly personal visions—from wise to witty and from wilted to worthless—woven around themes you may well never have wanted to think about, even if they're tapping you on your shoulder. Readers may find it charming or chimerical. It's your call. The cover theme for this issue is "Anorexia/Technology." Look here if you have a hankering for a mini-bio of (fanatically) saintly seer Simone Weil by editor Joshua Glenn, Lisa Carver's predictably sanguine "Interview with an Anorexic," an exhumation of Karen Carpenter by John Marr, or Clarke Cooper's erudite put-down of pumped up asteroid flicks in "My Life as a Wookiee." The cover price is still \$6; subscriptions are \$20/4 issues.

INDY UNLEASHED

Our National Dialogue on Race

#7/Spring '99 (Owen Thomas, POB 9651, Columbus, OH 43209; e-mail: vlorbik@delphi.com; web: <http://people.delphi.com/vlorbik>) is a 12-page zine consisting of literate reviews of zines and comics. Enjoyable, light reading. Too bad it's not longer. Sample copies are \$1.65.

IN THESE TIMES

Vol.23.#14/June 11,'99 (Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647; web: www.inthesetimes.com) is a professionally-produced, 30-page fortnightly "alternative newsmagazine" providing an ongoing left-liberal perspective on major national and international news stories in a uniquely timely manner—impossible for periodicals appearing less frequently. The June 11th issue includes a comparison of Bill Clinton with Woodrow Wilson and David Moberg's reformist suggestions of "New Rules for the Global Economy." Subscriptions are \$34.95/year (26 issues), or \$18.95/6 months.

LIBERTY

Vol.13.#3/March thru #7/July '99 (POB 1167, Port Townsend, WA. 98368) is now a 64-page monthly "libertarian" magazine which attempts to make something of an intellectual case for its religious faith in "free market" economics and "private property." The March issue includes a warning that government Y2K preparations include military options for dealing with potential discontent, a look at the frenzied acquisition of Ayn Rand's manuscripts (who'd

want to own such inferior prose besides cultists and speculators?), and an interesting update on "The Politics of Marijuana: The People Strike Back" by Paul Armentano. The July issue includes an excellent, skeptical look at the absurdity pro-NATO-bombing propaganda by David Steele. Subscriptions are now \$29.50/year (12 issues).

LIP

#11/Jan.-Feb.'99 (1400 West Devon #243, Chicago, IL 60660; e-mail: lip@entteract.com) is a very nicely-produced 64-page magazine of "radical common sense." My major complaint is the exceedingly small typeface which makes reading it a pain. But if you have good eyes, this is an interesting, sometimes provocative read. The Jan.-Feb. issue includes a good overview by Kari Lydersenn of the "Shame of the Cities: Gentrification in the New Urban America" (though it unfortunately doesn't cover wider historical connections of capitalist development), an interesting "where are they now" update on 1970s urban guerrillas now out of prison and back in the midst of mainstream U.S. society by Daniel Burton-Rose, and Greg Ruggiero on "Pirate Radio vs. Corporate Piracy: Who Owns the Air?" Subscriptions are \$24/year (six issues).

LOVING MORE

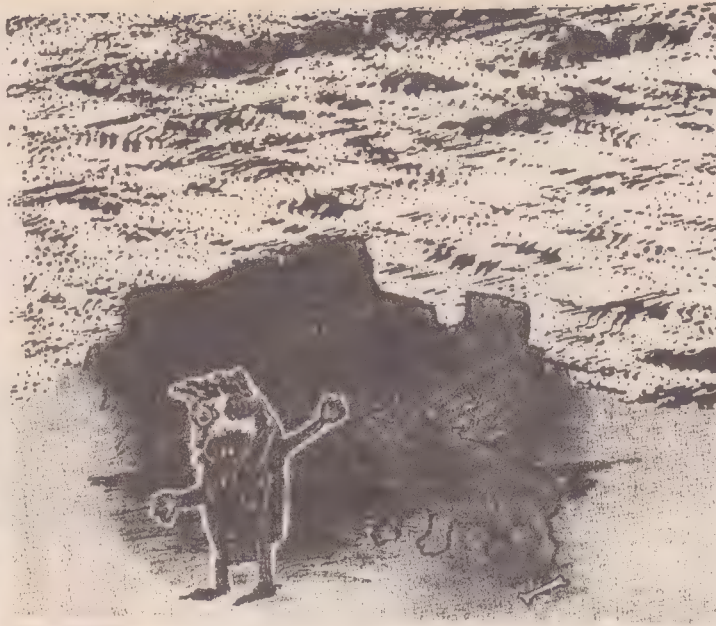
#17/Spring '99 (POB 4358, Boulder, CO 80306-4358; e-mail: ryam@lovemore.com; web site: www.lovemore.com) is a comfortably readable, quarterly 40-page polyfidelity magazine for all those unhappy with the limitations of monogamy, whether it be lifetime or serial! This issue's theme is 'New Relationship Energy,' including many short pieces like Roma Weiss' on "My Husband's Girlfriend," Leanna Wolf's interesting research on "African Polygamy," and Deborah Anapol's 'On Jealousy.' Also included in each issue are reviews, personal ads and news briefs. Cover price is \$6; subscriptions are \$24/year.

MSRRT NEWSLETTER

Vol.12.#2/Summer '99 (Chris Dodge/Jan DeSirey, 4645 Columbus Ave. S., Mpls, MN. 55407) is a quarterly 12-page "socially-responsible" librarians' newsletter. Each issue includes library news, interesting alternative periodical reviews and a few capsule small press book reviews. The Summer issue features a note on the scandalous forced retirement of long-time activist librarian Sandy Berman from the Hennepin County Library (over attempts to muzzle his outspoken activism) where he worked as head cataloguer since 1973. It also includes the text of a hilariously evasive dialogue with the Library of Congress concerning its lack of interest in establishing appropriate cataloguing headings for the "NAFTA" and "MAI" treaties. Subscriptions are \$15/year.

THE NEW ABOLITIONIST

"Abolish the White Race—By any Means Necessary" Vol.2.#2/April & #3/May '99 (c/o D.C. Abolitionists, 326 1/2 16th NE, Washington, DC 20002; web: www.newabolitionist.org)



Mark Neville

org) is an 8-page newsletter critical of the white race as socially-constructed, rather than a biological or natural phenomenon. "The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race...." The April issue mainly consists of anecdotes about racist mistreatment of North American blacks, along with "Eight Questions for the Free Mumia Movement" asking why more people supporting Mumia don't extend their critique to call for the abolition of the entire "legal system." Cover price is 50¢; subscriptions are \$10/year.

NORTH COAST XPRESS

Vol.7.#3/Summer '99 (POB 1226, Occidental, CA 95465; phone: 707-874-3104; website: www.north-coast-xpress.com/doretka/; e-mail: doretka@sonic.net) is an excellent 48-page special issue of this newsprint magazine covering the NATO/KLA war in Yugoslavia, featuring Michael Parenti's searing NATO exposé titled "The Destruction of Yugoslavia," two anti-war columns by liberal media critic Norman Solomon, Sam Smith on "Reasons to Stop the War" (Russian disgust with NATO aggression), Ramsey Clark on "The Bombing of Yugoslavia & Iraq," and Mark Eptstein's important "Unmasking NATO." Everyone should have a chance to read this issue of this significant voice of the alternative press. Single copies are \$5; subscriptions are \$20/year.

OFF OUR BACKS

Vol.29.#5/May '99 (2337B 18th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009) is a long-standing 18-page feminist news tabloid with a strong emphasis on international coverage and lesbian separatist issues. The May issue focusses on "Women and War in Kosovo," with views (mostly) for and against the disastrous NATO bombing campaign, including a sadly naive and ahistorical vote for imperialist war by longtime oob collective member Carol Anne Douglas. The issue also in-

cludes "Liberal Feminists Sell their Souls for Clinton" by radical feminist Judith Paige. Each issue now includes a long listing of "Festivals and Meetings." Subscriptions are now \$25/year (11 issues).

PR WATCH

Vol.6.#1/First Quarter '99 (3318 Gregory St., Madison, WI 53711; website: www.prwatch.org) is a very important 12-page newsletter of "Public Interest Reporting on the Public Relations Industry," certainly one of the pillars of capitalist ideological strength. This issue features a profile of Peter Sandman, whose unorthodox PR "risk communication" strategies are influencing many major corporate polluters in their choices of how best to co-opt community opposition. This is valuable stuff—of which every activist should be aware. Subscriptions are \$35/year.

SKEPTICAL INQUIRER

Vol.23.#3/May-June '99 (Box 703, Buffalo, NY 14226-0703) is the always readable and often interesting 72-page bimonthly "Magazine for Science and Reason," published by the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP). Although its writers too often promote a dogmatic scientism, they nevertheless occasionally provide genuinely unbiased evidence to debunk many of the non-scientific targets that they investigate and analyze. The May-June issue includes debunkings of Bigfoot (in "Bigfoot's Screen Test" and "Tracking Bigfoot on the Internet") and urban legends ("The Snuff Film: The Making of an Urban Legend" and "Bitter Harvest: The Organ-Snatching Urban Legends"), along with a valuable review of Philip Davis' *The Goddess Unmasked*. Despite its often overt biases and conflicts of interest, this journal includes worthwhile & critical information for our amazingly glib society. Subscriptions are \$35/year.

SOUNDINGS

Summer '99 (Friends of the Federation, 1309-13th Ave S, Seattle, WA 98144) is the 12-page newsletter of the Federation of Egalitarian Communities, now "an association of fourteen intentional communities which hold land, labor and other resources in common," consisting of short reports on activities at individual communities and a calendar of events. Subscriptions are included with a \$50 Friends of the Federation membership, which also gets you a copy of the huge *Communities Directory* or an accompanying subscription to *Communities Magazine*. The newsletter alone is available for \$25/year. Well worth the price if you want to know about the wide range of intentional communities now operating in North America.

UTNE READER

#91/Jan.-Feb. thru #93/May-June '99 (POB 7459, Red Oak, IA 51591-2459) is by now a mostly-mainstream, advertising-infested, 128-page "alternative press" reader for new age/baby boom liberals, concentrating on reprinting articles from mainstream & marginally "alternative" publications, along with a very small number of genuinely alternative pieces thrown in. The Jan.-Feb. issue features a cover theme of "Good Work: Find your Way to a Job that Matters" (don't look for any critique of capitalism here, just remember that "We must be patient with ourselves and others as we being the difficult personal and collective search for good work.") Subscriptions are \$19.97/year (6 issues).

THE VOLUNTARYIST

#98/June '99 (POB 1275, Gramling, SC 29348) is a nicely-printed, 8-page bimonthly newsletter promoting voluntary social relations and private property (and "not voluntary communal property"). This issue features John Hasnas' "The Myth of The Rule of Law: Part II," which argues the unavoidable truth that law is intensely political and not an objective or natural phenomenon (if only this same critique could be turned on the rule of capital & market as well, this zine would be a whole lot better). Subscriptions are \$18/year (or .045oz or 1.4gm of fine gold!).

THE WASHINGTON FREE PRESS

#39/May-June '99 (1463 E. Republican St., #178, Seattle, WA 98112; web: www.speakeasy.org/wfp) is a bimonthly 16-page alternative community tabloid serving the Seattle area. This issue features a section of "War News," including information on the reckless disregard NATO has shown for the human, cultural and ecological results of its bombing campaign in Yugoslavia. Greg Bates interviews media critic Norman Solomon. And Greg Turner contributes his "Confessions of a Corporate Bookseller," recounting all the petty compromises he was forced to make during his years working at Borders and Barnes & Noble stores. There's no excuse for missing this paper if you live in Seattle, but it's worth a read wherever you live. Subscriptions are still \$12/year.

Robert Thaxton:

Who He is and the Struggle He is Part of

by Wolfi

*"I must rise in revolt to rise in the world."
-Max Stirner, from The Ego and Its Own*

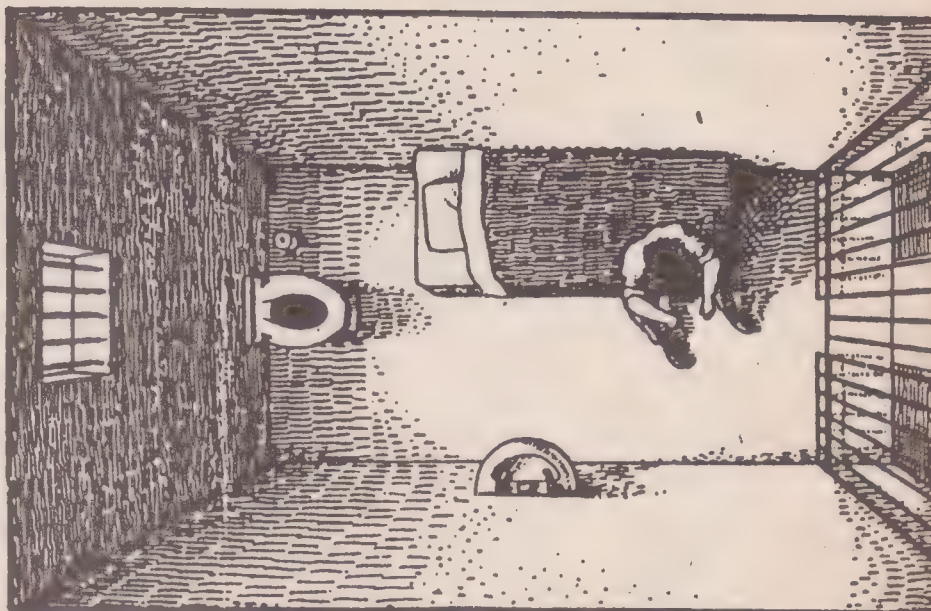
The October 13 verdict of seven years and four months in prison for Robert Thaxton was no surprise to anarchists here in Eugene, and elsewhere for that matter. Anarchists, the true enemies of the state should expect no leniency from the judge's gavel, no favors, no warm feelings from those who uphold authority. No surprise at all. For that is just one of many reasons why we are anarchists, why we foster the desire to live our lives to the fullest extent possible, to experience love, beauty, nature, feasts, all unhindered by authority that is not our own.

The state of the planet is not a welcome one as nature continues to be paved over and shit upon and our daily life represents more and more that of a machine. How drab and monotonous so many lives have become. Yet there are those who refuse to be made into machines, who refuse to become one of the living dead. And in this refusal, they experience real adventure and come closer to owning their own lives, and living them to the fullest, the way we were intended to do.

The June 18th riot in Eugene was just one more collective refusal. The leftist spin put on the day of protest against capital couldn't contain the emotions that so many felt, and the cops efforts to quell those emotions only fanned the flames. Protesters did not play by the rules that day and outflanked the cops on a few occasions. But for all the excitement and victories that were had on that day, there were some losses. Twenty people were arrested, the stiffest sentence thus far has been handed to Rob. Another person arrested on that day, Christopher Smith, was convicted of riot and has yet to be sentenced.

That day has been highly controversial in Eugene. Even anarchists have mixed feelings about it. But as many still continue to sit around and bicker about whether the riot was good or bad, death is still outrunning life.

Sgt. Larry Blackwell is known throughout the Whitaker neighborhood as a menace, specializing in threats, racism, and intimidation. HQ joined the Eugene Police Department directly from the LA County Sheriff's Dept after the 1992 rising. "I got to shoot some of those motherfuckers," is one of his utterances in reference to Hispanics in L.A.



Toward the end of "Reclaim the Streets" on June 18 he charged Rob Thaxton, who threw a rock at him in an effort to get away. Blackwell had made no order to stop or any other comment and was coming at Thaxton with obvious violence, against one with no record of violence.

In a two-day trial marked by outrageous prejudice from the bench toward the defendant, he was convicted July 3 of Assault 2 and Riot and acquitted of Attempted Assault 1. Sentencing occurred on October 13 when Rob was sentenced to seven years and four months in a penitentiary (because of a mandatory minimum of 70 months in the Assault 2 conviction).

Judge Beard distinguished herself by consistently siding with the prosecution and denying every defense motion. She refused to acknowledge the stated bias of several jurors against anarchists—seating them anyway, having already refused defense counsel's (Charlie Porter) request to be allowed to interview prospective jurors individually. Also denied was a defense motion to admit into evidence material on Blackwell's personal record or allow any witnesses about his behavior or character. Two witnesses were going to discuss the historical record and nature of anarchism, to address the bias against Thaxton as an anarchist. This, too, was not allowed.

Slurs about anarchists, however, were permitted by Prosecutor Gorham, who also

brought in extraneous, unsupported charges (e.g. that Thaxton also threw a bottle at Blackwell) and committed other irregularities. The local injustice system went all-out to make Rob an object lesson in what to expect. This one-sided affair was a total sham. An appeal of his conviction is underway.

Please write to comrade Rob Thaxton at:
Robert Lee Thaxton #12112716
O.S.P.
2605 State St.
Salem, OR 97310.

All mail sent to Rob must have a return address. All donations to Rob's legal defense should be sent to:

Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous
POB 11331
Eugene, OR 97440

Checks should be made out to "John Zerzan."

Donations to Rob personally must be sent in the form of money orders only mailed to: Department of Corrections Central Trust
2575 Center St. NE
Salem, OR 97310

They must be made out to "Department of Corrections Central Trust for Robert Lee Thaxton #12112716."

Letters should be sent separately from literature and all literature must come directly from the publisher or a bookstore. Zines, in this instance, should have the same address printed on the envelope (if any is used) as is printed on the zine itself.

Who is Rob Thaxton?

I first met Rob Thaxton—better known to his anarchist comrades as Rob los Ricos—in 1991 in Austin, Texas. For as long as I have known him, he has been involved in anarchist activities. In Texas, he had connections with Earth First! and helped to organize anarchist gatherings in Houston and Austin. While living in Portland, Oregon a few years ago, he was involved with the anarchist info-shop that existed at the time. This past winter, he lived in Columbia, Missouri helping to publish *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* and *Alternative Press Review*, as well as working on book projects of the Columbia Alternative Library Press. Rob has also shown interest in indigenous and Chicano issues, being Chicano himself. He spent the summers of 1997 and 1998 on a piece of land in southern Oregon where several people, including some anarchists, are experimenting with natural, low impact gardening techniques, permaculture, eco-friendly architecture and low-tech living. Rob views this project as a part of becoming a person more capable of living without the industrial monster, and so better able to fight it. He had planned to stay on the land again this summer and had been there one month before his arrest. He had spoken of settling there long-term to really learn the skills he wanted to gain. Rob also has a 3-year-old daughter who is living with her mother in Portland. He views his revolutionary activity, as well as his experiments in low-tech living, as in part, a gift to his daughter whom he loves dearly.

Rob has no desire to be a martyr. He wants and, to the best of his ability, acts toward anarchist revolution for himself and those he loves. But the police and prosecutors wanted a scapegoat for June 18. Rob was not a local. The authorities believed he was a transient. Add to this that Rob was a Chicano, and that one of his arresting officers, Larry Blackwell, has been heard to make slurs and threats against Chicanos, and Rob begins to look like the perfect scapegoat. So after being beaten to the ground, his nose broken, his eye blackened, his scapulae injured, his brain concussed, he found himself facing charges of rioting, first-degree assault and second degree assault. This last sentence has a required 6-year minimum sentence. His bail was set at \$240,000, keeping him from the land he loves and the friends he loves.

Revolutionary Solidarity

With a friend and comrade in a situation like Rob's, of course, basic support work is necessary—building a defense, getting together funds for a lawyer, all the banalities that come up in such a situation. But, from an anarchist perspective, revolutionary soli-

darity is equally or even more essential.

Revolutionary Solidarity is expressed through the continuation of the struggle against this society, the continuation of the attack against the institutions which judge and imprison ourselves and our comrades. So, although we will certainly not deny Rob all the tools he can use to defend himself, we will not let our struggle be deflected into petitions to the authorities. Rather we will battle the authorities with all means that can be used in an anarchist way.

As anarchists, we have no interest in the justice system. Rob says he did not commit the crimes of which he was accused, and we will certainly do what we can to prove this. But from an anarchist perspective, the guilt or innocence of a comrade is not important in determining our solidarity with him or her. This concept of guilt and innocence is just another aspect of the democratic system of justice and law which we reject.

The justice system, justice as it exists in the present society, is a system of judgement, a system which allows certain people to determine that others—whom these judges have never met and know *nothing about*—should be locked up, forced to give up certain freedoms, even killed. Such a system is beyond any sort of reform that could be acceptable to an anarchist, because at its heart it is authoritarian. Thus, an expression of revolutionary solidarity with an imprisoned comrade would be a struggle aimed at the destruction of the justice system.

This requires an understanding of the justice system. It is courts, judges, prosecutors, the entire trial process; but it is also prisons, police, and laws. There is no use in pursuing prison reforms. No matter how gentle and homely a prison becomes, it remains a prison, a place for locking up one who offends the law. Nor are better behaved police of interest to us. No matter how well behaved the cop is, he or she remains the armed protector of state power and private property, both of which the anarchist seeks to destroy. And better laws only reinforce state power. Their purpose is to protect the present social order, to maintain social peace. And social peace is based in the violence of domination and exploitation, the violence of power.

So our struggles in solidarity with specific prisoners such as Rob base themselves in our struggle against the social order. They use the anarchist methods of attack against that social order, not the democratic methods of accommodation and negotiation. This does not mean that we won't use every weapon we can to get Rob free. But we will leave it to the lawyer to battle on the terrain of law—an appropriate terrain for liberals and civil libertarians whose interest is "justice." Our interest is the destruction of the present social order and the flowering of individual

freedom in the context of equal access of all to the condition of life and free creation—this calls for another sort of struggle, a destructive upheaval against all the institutions of power.

The True Nature of the Justice System

The democratic justice system is intended to maintain social peace. It does this through the use of institutionalized terrorism. The acceptance of state and corporate power, of private property and of every other form of domination and exploitation upon which social peace is built can only be maintained by the patrol of armed thugs with the right to abduct anyone they think is not conforming to the needs of society. The abductee is then brought before a court which puts a veneer of social consensus over this terrorism while deciding how to violate the abductee. Since terrorism is the systematic use of terror in the form of violence or threats of violence to coerce conformity to the terrorists' will, this system must be considered straightforward terrorism.

Master terrorist Bill Clinton has said "There can be no compromise with terrorists." As a master of that art, he should know, and we should take him at his word. If we are interested in the freedom to live our lives to the full, we cannot accommodate to a system of terror intended to turn us into cogs in the social machine. There is no room for negotiation. Only in attack against this monster can the struggle have a chance.

June 18th and the Nature of the Riot

When the street party of June 18th stepped up a notch to become a riot, this was not a matter of anyone lying to the pigs about what was going to happen. The riot of June 18th, like most riots, was a spontaneous expression of rage and rebellion. There is no place for apologies when such events happen. Rage and rebellion are healthy responses to the present social order, and apologies simply play into the hands of the authorities. When laws are broken, as they will be in such an uprising, apologies are a kind of confession, a way of telling the authorities (whose conceptions of right and wrong anarchists reject) that "we" did wrong. Furthermore, since the actual perpetrators of illegal acts are rarely the ones to apologize, the apologies also amount to authoritarian auto-delegation of the right to speak for others to oneself and a form of snitching. I know its harsh in this world of tact and good manners to call things by their real name, but as long as we continue to euphemize, we will continue to be ignorant of the real significance of our acts.

So-called radicals in this country, including most "anarchists," prefer to keep insurrection at a distance. Even people who are not ethical pacifists prefer that we remain safely nonviolent, using tactics which guarantee the continuance of their role as "opposition" (is this why even the most militant of this sort of activist prefer to talk of resistance rather than attack?). So they relegate insurrection to exotic lands like Palestine or Chiapas, or distant times like Paris, 1871 or Catalonia, 1936. This keeps the violence of such events distant and abstract, and allows them to believe that we can remain nice, polite, moderate people and still be radical because we give verbal support to the right causes.

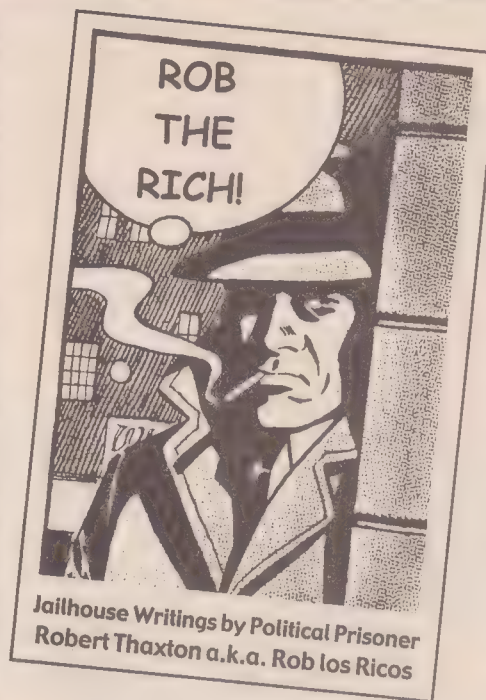
But anarchist revolution has its basis in uprisings against authority, in insurrectional attacks on the present social order. Willingness to apologize for such events indicates a willingness to compromise and for us, compromise is defeat. We do *not* have the upper hand against power, and every time we compromise it is a step forward in power's control and a step backward for us.

What is Anarchy?

Behind the willingness to apologize and to accommodate that far too many so-called anarchists exhibit, is a fear for the good image of anarchy. This is laughable because anarchy has never had a good public image. The state and capital control the image-making apparatus and would never allow a truly good (in the sense of both positive and inspiring to action) image of anarchy to exist. But this desire for a good image is most troubling because it reflects a lack of understanding of the nature of anarchy.

Anarchy is not a religion or a god to which we want to convert people. Its essence is not idealistic in the Platonic sense—that is, it is not an ideal above us to which we aspire. A nice, clean image, a pie-in-the-sky vision is of no practical use to us since our purpose is not to convert. All such attempts to transform the world are schemes which guarantee that real transformation never happens because that would destroy these ideologues' comfortable role as loyal opposition in the present world.

Anarchy is not a product to be sold, another flat opinion in the ideological marketplace. A media-palatable image of anarchy is, thus, an unworthy goal. Mass media serves the state in two ways which make it useless to anarchists. It is the processor of democratic opinion. It takes any idea presented to it, however vital and dynamic, and flattens it into just another opinion separated from life, another of the many ideologies that democratic discourse can allow to be discussed. For this reason trying to make a media-palatable version of anarchist thinking upholds the present social order by reinforcing the image of our tolerant democratic institutions.



The other task of mass media is to create images for consumption. When anarchists play into this, they merely become another one of the many sub-groups of this society, separated from the general mass and put on stage to perform. Such performance doesn't inspire. It simply entertains and enforces passivity.

The best image the media has ever granted to anarchy is that of an eccentric, anachronistic philosophy. Even this image is only granted so long as anarchists remain impotent. Apologies and a willingness to accommodate one's enemies are signs of impotence. A strong anarchist movement, no matter how small, will always be vilified in the mass media. The alleged horrors of every uprising will be trumpeted as this institution does its job of helping to maintain social peace and the state monopoly on violence.

But for those who are ready to rebel and struggle against their oppression, exploitation and alienation, those who are enraged and ready to act on their rage, there is no need to paint a clean, prettified picture of anarchy. It is precisely the rage, the violent passion of anarchy to which they can relate. The number of people who fit this description is rising. One need only look at the letters to the editor in the *Register-Guard* or the *Eugene Weekly* that were sympathetic to the June 18th riot...or the recent editorials in the Portland homeless paper...or listen to the anger expressed at the August 24th People's Forum in Eugene. In southern Oregon, where I live in the summers, anti-government sentiment is strong and sympathy for outlaws high. Some even refer to Ted Kaczynski as a hero. The rage is there; the hatred of authority is there. What do anarchists actually have

to offer?

To figure this out, we must figure out what anarchy is. It is, in part, a utopian idea, a vision of a world in which there are no institutions of power, domination and exploitation, and individuals are free to explore all of their capabilities and fully develop themselves as they desire. But such visions, such ideas, are only useful to the extent they move one to act. So anarchy must also be a personal ethic: to refuse to delegate one's life away, to project one's life for oneself, to refuse ever to be ruled or to rule. The refusal to be ruled is particularly important as this is the real source of our strength in the struggle. But, most importantly, as a tool to be used by insurgent people, anarchy is a methodology for struggle. This methodology is an insurrectional methodology incorporating a few essential elements:

1) Direct action—The struggle against the institutions of power, in order to be effective, cannot use petitions to any authority. Rather, those in struggle act directly to realize the objective they have chosen.

2) Autonomy—Those in struggle refuse to delegate decision-making to any formal organization such as unions, parties and the like. Specific organizations for a particular struggle with a clear aim that dissolves once the aim is met and that serve only as a means for coordinating the autonomous efforts of individuals and small groups based on real affinity, not as a decision-making bodies.

3) Permanent Conflictuality—Those in struggle have to recognize the reality of their conflict with the exploiters, and always act against them. The struggle needs to consist of constant and effective action against the authorities aiming toward the specific objective that has been chosen. The terrain of capital and the state is everywhere, so there are targets everywhere. Thus, we can be doing small actions that can be easily imitated across the social terrain, keeping the pressure on and building insurrection without recourse to leaders or vanguards.

4) Attack—There is no place for compromise or accommodation with the state and capital in any aspect. They are our enemies and we are out to destroy them. This is reflected in our actions by our practice of attack against the specific physical manifestations of power.

This methodology is anarchist in its refusal of any form of authority, but can be used by all in struggle whether they call themselves anarchist or not. It prevents the recuperation of the struggle by any power structure and strengthens those who use it.

What Is Revolution?

Anarchists hope that the struggle for specific aims using the methodology outlined above will expand and lend to a revolution-

any break. Revolution is not something that drops from the sky, but rather something that develops from real struggles as the awareness of the need to destroy the present social order becomes increasingly conscious in the course of struggle. The insurrectional anarchist methodology has within it the seeds of such an awareness.

Although revolutions are not spontaneous eruptions, they tend to catch us by surprise. It is in this light that we need to be aware of the nature of revolution. There is no such thing as a non-violent revolution, any more than there can be a non-violent storm. A revolution is an upheaval of social conditions, the chaotic opening up of the un-

known. An anarchist revolution would involve the destruction of all institutions of power, an upheaval of social relationships comparable to the natural upheavals brought about by tornadoes, hurricanes and earthquakes. Even if no blood were shed, such an upheaval would have violent effects, destructive effects. Those who are afraid of this would do well to avoid anarchist ideas and practice.

But the upheaval of revolution is necessary to bring about the end of the present social order which is, by its nature, a constant upheaval forced upon all of those without power by the forces of the state and capital. This constant upheaval fucks over most of us leaving us to feel like unhappy puppets of a

hellish fate. The upheaval of anarchist revolution places people's lives into their own hands, making people the creators of their own destinies. This is the case because anarchist revolution can only grow out of struggles which use an anarchist methodology and that methodology bases itself in the autonomy of individuals and small groups, and their increasing ability to act for themselves. Thus, the upheavals of anarchist revolution are intentionally created by those in struggle in order to destroy the institutions that enslave them.

This essay is reprinted from *Rob the Rich! Jailhouse Writings by Political Prisoner Robert Thaxton aka Rob los Ricos*. All proceeds from distribution of the *Rob the Rich!* pamphlet will go towards Rob's legal defense. For copies of the pamphlet, or for more information on Rob Thaxton, Anarchy, Revolutionary Solidarity and related topics please contact Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous, POB 11331, Eugene, Oregon 97440.

Nikos Maziotis convicted

The trial of 28-year-old anarchist Nikos Maziotis in Athens, Greece, started amid heavy security on July 5th, during a time when the Greek government has been facing increasing US pressure to clamp down on anarchist "terrorism."

Maziotis has taken full responsibility for planting a small bomb at the Greek Industry Ministry in Athens on Dec. 6, 1997, aimed only at damaging the building. While the US and NATO continue to admit no responsibility for massive casualties inflicted in this year's nearby bombing campaign over Kosovo—including the deaths of thousands of Serb and Kosovar civilians and police—as well as the deliberate targeting of civilian infrastructure.

With absolutely no irony intended, the Associated Press, reporting on Maziotis' trial, noted that the US government has "led demands that Greece take stronger measures against the arsonists and bombers that frequently hit foreign targets and other sites."

Addressing the court, Maziotis said he had planted the bomb in a show of solidarity with residents of several northern Greek villages who have been protesting the operation of a gold mine in the area by the Canadian-based TVX Gold Inc.

With the exertion of immense US pressure, Greek leaders have been putting increased resources into the hunt for Europe's most elusive armed-struggle group, "November 17," which takes its name from the date in 1973 when the fascist military junta ruling Greece—with the direct support of the US government—crushed a student uprising.

Four Americans at the US Embassy have allegedly been killed by "November 17."





Future Primitive Update

John Zerzan

In the past couple of years there have been some very remarkable findings concerning the capacities of early humans.

These discoveries have reinforced and even considerably deepened some aspects of the general paradigm shift underway in recent decades. The work of Thomas Wynn and others has shown that Homo around one million years ago had an intelligence equal to our own. Anthropological orthodoxy now also views Paleolithic humans as essentially peaceful, egalitarian, and healthy, with considerable leisure time and gender equality.

The most recent material has to do with mental achievements and has radical implications similar to those in the other areas of pre-civilized life.

In late August, 1999 University of Minnesota and Harvard anthropologists disclosed a narrowing of the size differential between men and women that began about 1.9 million years ago. The key factor was not so much the use of fire, which began then, but cooking of tuberous vegetables. Cooking reduced the need for bigger teeth, which predominated in males, and the sexes began to equalize in size. The fact of cooking, so long ago, is a considerable datum in terms of the capacities of early Homo. An upcoming issue of *Current Anthropology* will discuss this research in depth.

M.J. Morwood *et al.*, in the March 12, 1998 issue of *Nature*, revealed evidence that humans used seagoing vessels 800,000 years ago in the western Pacific. The earliest previous evidence for sea crossings dates from about 50,000 years ago. This enormous revision of how long ago humans were able to construct vessels and guide them over miles of ocean actually elicits, according to the authors, a complete reappraisal of the cognitive capacity of early humanity.

In a related vein, a one-million-year-old skull found in Eritrea that possesses Homo sapiens features pushes back such an occurrence by 300,000 to 400,000 years. The September 1998 *Discover* magazine called this find a "breakthrough

in human origins," noting that prior to this discovery, the earliest fossils with H. sapiens features dated to only 700,000 to 600,000 years ago.

The February 27, 1997 issue of *Nature* recounts the discovery of the world's oldest hunting weapons, a trio of 400,000-year-old wooden spears found in a German coal mine. It is not clear whether this repudiates the prevailing view that Homo engaged almost entirely in foraging or scavenging until about 100,000 years ago, but the find does clearly demonstrate high intelligence. The 6 to 7-foot long spears "required careful planning," utilizing the hardest ends of young spruce trees, with the thickest and heaviest part of the carved shaft about one-third of the distance from the spear point for optimal balance.

What these reports establish is that humans were cooking, traveling over seas, and skillfully making tools at generally much earlier times than previously suspected, and very much prior to any known existence of symbolic culture.

We are trained to equate intelligence with symbolic culture, though clearly this assumption is at variance with the record of human existence. Likewise, we tend to measure intelligence in terms of division of labor and domestication, those benchmarks of basic alienation. We are finding out a bit more about an intelligence that we know lived with nature instead of dominating it, and lived without hierarchy or organized violence. (Head-hunting, cannibalism, slavery, war all appear only with the onset of agriculture.)

On one level or another it seems, humans so very long ago and for so many millennia understood what a good thing they had. Healthy and free, they many have sensed that division of labor erodes wholeness and fragments the individual, leading to social stratification, imbalance, and conflict. They resisted it for more than a million or two million years, succumbing to civilization only quite recently, along with its consolation, symbolic culture.

Festival municipal des

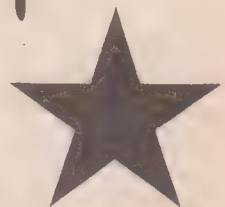
PORCS

Elections municipales: Fosse à purin!

De voter pour un ancien cochon ou pour tel autre porc sans moustaches ou tel autre gros lard de jardin, ce sera toujours d'abdiquer notre pouvoir à ceux et celles qui, copains comme cochon avec les riches, s'engraissent à nos dépens. Ne perdons pas de temps aux urnes, il faut agir au lieu d'élire! Ils se "goinfrent" de nos vies. Tranchons dans l'gras!

L'isoloir c'est notre abattoir!

*Nous
on vote pas!*



Des libertaires

**Municipal Festival
of Pigs:**
"The voting booth is
our slaughterhouse...
We're not voting."

THE COLLAPSE OF THE ECOLOGY MONTREAL PARTY

Part Two

Michael William

By the Fall of 1997, the Ecology Montreal Party (EM) was undergoing much internal conflict. An anti-Roussopoulos faction had emerged in response to Dimitri Roussopoulos, the owner of Black Rose Books and a self-described anarchist. Some party members were not in either the pro or anti-Roussopoulos camps.

Also present were divisions over political outlook. Anarchists (at least 14 I've been able to document have been involved), social democrats, and typical green party types coexisted uneasily under the EM big tent. Some of the EM anarchists were influenced by the "libertarian municipalism" theories of Murray Bookchin, who says that anarchists should run for city council. Other local anarchists such as myself have opposed EM from the outset.

In October, an article on EM appeared in the Montreal weekly *Hour*. Following the article, *Hour* published a letter by Roussopoulos's companion Lucia Kowaluk who defended him and accused their adversaries of attempting a coup d'état. *Hour* then printed a joint letter by 5 Roussopoulos opponents who termed him overbearing and manipulative and denied the coup d'état charge.

The conflict would have further echoes in the media in coming months. Perceptible in the coverage was a change in attitude toward Roussopoulos at Montreal's English-language week-

lies. As late as December '95 *Hour* published an article on Roussopoulos and Black Rose which was little more than a puff piece. The weeklies' shift to a more critical attitude toward Roussopoulos derived in part from contact with people who had worked under him. Innumerable stories are floating around about Dimitri, and the weeklies eventually heard about some of these as well.

At the October EM assembly reported on in *Hour*, the party had decided not to field candidates in the coming election. Instead, party members would back "progressive candidates" in several ridings. Which candidates to back was put off to a subsequent meeting.

The next meeting occurred 5 weeks later, in mid-November. The number present—10 people—was considerably lower than the previous meeting. In attendance were Bernard Cooper and Patrick Borden, anarchists who were strong opponents of Roussopoulos. Also present were other opponents of Roussopoulos as well as people who were not part of this group. Some of those present were members of *Le Monde à Bicyclette*, a group involved with bicycle activism and ecological issues.

A letter of resignation had been received from Roger Caron. Caron had been elected to a coordinating committee post at the previous meeting. Also conspicuously absent were Roussopoulos and Kowaluk. In the letter to *Hour* Kowaluk had been up-

beat about the future of EM. Behind the scenes, however, conversations were taking place about how to handle the conflict with the Cooper-Borden group. Roussopoulos consulted Phillip Chee, an anarchist strongly influenced by the theory of libertarian municipalism. Chee had penned a piece on EM in the Fall '93 issue of the Canadian anarchist journal *Kick it Over*. In 1994, he was one of half a dozen anarchists who ran for municipal office. By the Fall of '97, he had moved out of town and was no longer an active EM member. Chee quotes Roussopoulos as saying, vis-a-vis EM, that he had enough fight left to fight another battle. Chee replied that he thought it a waste of time. Roussopoulos's group was outnumbered and was going to lose, he said. Ultimately Roussopoulos would also come to the conclusion that it was better to abandon EM.

At the November EM meeting, the coordinating committee was mandated to carry out the split with the Democratic Coalition, EM's electoral partner in the '94 elections. This followed up on the decision to separate made at the previous EM meeting. A motion proposed by Borden was adopted which allocated up to \$4,000 for candidates running green campaigns consistent with the outlook of EM. Monies were also allocated to a number of activist projects. No future EM meeting was scheduled. A coordinating committee remained in place which distributed monies allotted at the meeting.

monies allotted at the meeting.

The withdrawal of the Roussopoulos group had made it possible in theory for the party to forge off in a different direction. No new start, however, took place. The unity of the anti-Roussopoulos faction flowed from opposition to Roussopoulos rather than a shared outlook. In the description of John Penner, an EM social democrat at the November meeting, both the pro- and anti-Roussopoulos groups were "dying" by this time. As well, numerous members had abandoned the party at one point or other during its 8 years of existence.

In March '98, the EM coordinating committee was jolted into action when Roussopoulos and Kowaluk attempted to seize the EM archives and deny others access. The archives were housed in a space controlled by two organizations, each of which had a member of this duo as its president. An EM coordinating committee meeting was held and a press release about the situation was prepared. The press release noted a new twist: Kowaluk had joined a centre-left party, the Montreal Citizens Movement (MCM): "We are not aware of any other political organization in the world which allows its archives to be held by members of a competing political party." The press release was finally not sent; an agreement had been worked out allowing both sides access to the archives.

Kowaluk's decision to join the MCM was a move other EM members were also contemplating. Yolande Cohen, mayoralty candidate in the '94 elections and a former Anarchos Institute member, called a press conference in November '97 to announce that she would stand for the MCM in the next elections. "All forces must unite to give hope back to Montreal, and the MCM is the only political party that's capable of working in the interests of the citizens," she said, flanked by four MCM councillors and the party president.

However, Cohen's flirt with the MCM would be of short duration. She would soon be hosting a think tank in her downtown apartment. The project was "unaligned," she told the Montreal daily *La Presse*. She eventually would become a candidate for Team Montreal, a party formed around Jean Doré. Doré had served as mayor for the MCM during their two terms in office.

When he was not automatically invited to stand for a third term, he founded a new party, taking some councillors and party members with him. A motor-mouth technocrat, Doré is a formerly left-leaning lawyer who has moved progressively to the centre right.

In April '98, a new MCM leader, Thérèse Daviau, was elected. Soon after she would leave the party during a split that would further deplete party ranks. Daviau's intention had been to merge the party with New Montreal, another recently created party constructed around a former chief of the Montreal Police.

This reshuffling of the political deck left the municipal scene as follows: 2 centre-left parties (MCM, Democratic Coalition); 3 centre-right parties (the ruling Vision Montreal Party of Mayor Bourque, and the two recently created parties, Team Montreal and New Montreal). Also present were several independent councillors.

MCM AHoy

On July 30 1998, an article entitled "Ecology Montreal rallies to MCM" appeared in *La Presse*. The article said that former EM member Roger Caron would be standing as a candidate for the MCM and that a nomination ceremony marking the event would take place that evening. Roussopoulos was quoted in the article, but exactly who was involved was impossible to tell. This was clarified in the letter of invitation to the ceremony. The missive was signed by Roussopoulos and Kowaluk, Bernard Bourbonnais, Angel Martínez, an older Spanish anarchist, and Andrea Levy, who later said she had not signed and had not joined the MCM. The letter hailed the revamped party programme as an "important evolution of the MCM," adding, "Murray Bookchin also replied saying that 'if he were 15 years younger and lived in Montreal' he would support the MCM." Bookchin's statement about the MCM was also mentioned by Roussopoulos in the interview with the reporter from *La Presse*. Bookchin's approval was evoked as well in Roussopoulos's bimonthly *Place Publique* column. Roussopoulos was clearly maximizing the mentions of Bookchin in order to justify the shift to the MCM.

Bookchin's support for the MCM

The letter hailed the revamped party programme as an "important evolution of the MCM," adding, "Murray Bookchin also replied saying that 'if he were 15 years younger and lived in Montreal' he would support the MCM."

caused raised eyebrows locally, within and outside the small libertarian municipalist camp. From talking to several people who consulted Bookchin about the question, the following picture emerges. The quote about the MCM, it was verified, is accurate. Anarchists should form a faction within the party, a student was told by Bookchin (shades of Trotskyist entryism). According to another student, Bookchin said his perception of developments in the MCM came to a large extent from Roussopoulos. Roussopoulos for his part has written in *Place Publique* that Bookchin's enthusiasm comes from reading the MCM programme. However, Bookchin would later state what he had supported was an MCM pre-programme commission report. Roussopoulos for his part continues to affirm that Bookchin supports the programme.

Bookchin is also saying that he doesn't remember the statement about joining the MCM if he were younger. But there seems to be little doubt in this case because he was called the day the statement was reported in a local daily, and he confirmed making it. Getting to the bottom of these claims and counter-claims is no easy task. What is clear is that supporting any party programme—or pre-programme party report—is absurd from an anarchist viewpoint.

What is it then about the MCM programme that has Roussopoulos's knickers in a knot? Well, this is an enigma. The programme calls primarily for a reshuffling of power among politicians. The document criticizes the current situation in which the Executive Committee makes decisions behind

closed doors, and it recommends that considerable power devolve to "Standing Commissions" of elected councillors. The proposed new structure would "give the Standing Commissions a central role in elaborating the master policies of the City, including administration of public funds, administrative and policy restructuring, economic development strategies, revitalization of neighbourhoods and the downtown, socio-economic orientation, cultural communities and housing." This is restated by MCM mayoralty candidate Michel Prescott in an interview in a local daily: "We want to give more tools to city councillors to control every aspect of the city's finances."

Although the above makes clear that the bulk of power remains with elected politicians, the program also calls for a certain amount of decentralization. This will not be a "massive transfer" of power, though, I was told by MCM President Abe Limonchik. In effect the MCM did not implement substantive decentralization during their two terms in office.

The programme also calls for referenda under certain conditions. But according to Limonchik, it is not a question of city-wide referenda but rather of neighbourhood ones on local questions such as sports and recreation.

(Nor, as well, are referenda a panacea.)

THE NOMINATION CEREMONY

In late July, the nomination ceremony for Roger Caron was held. Previously a candidate for EM, Caron was now running under the MCM banner in a riding in the north of the island. The event attracted 35 people and took place on a rented upper floor of a sports bar. Roussopoulos, Kowaluk, Caron and Levy were in attendance, as well as another former EM member, Françoise Thériault. Cooper and Borden also showed up.

MCM President Abe Limonchik spoke first, stating that the nomination ceremony was an MCM tradition signifying that the candidate has the support of the local MCM group.

MCM mayoral candidate Michel Prescott took the floor and praised Caron's "integrity" and "very stimulat-

ing" vision. An outburst of laughter occurred when Prescott humourously noted that he and Roussopoulos had been candidates and adversaries in the previous election campaign when Prescott had run as an independent. The situation in effect had turned quite heated. In a press release Prescott had accused Roussopoulos of using *Place Publique* (a biweekly Roussopoulos runs) for free EM publicity, calling for an enquiry from the chief electoral officer. There remains no love lost on Roussopoulos's part: shortly before the '98 elections he took a swipe at Prescott's mayoralty candidacy, terming it a "liability" for the party.

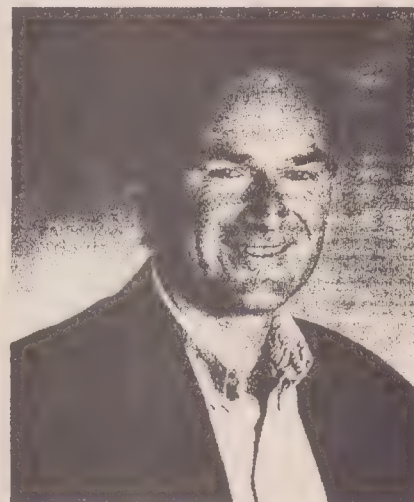
MCM President Abe Limonchik took the floor again, exhorting all progressive forces to rally to the MCM, the "only democratic party."

Roussopoulos took the floor. He was at his most statesmanlike, which comes off primarily as pomposity in his case. He listed the names of the EM people who had come over to the MCM, specifying that each had been founding EM members. He supported the MCM programme, he said, and was pleased a deal had been worked out making Caron the party spokesperson concerning ecological matters. (In a further sign of the furious horse trading going on, former EM mayoralty candidate Yolande Cohen was appointed Team Montreal's environmental spokesperson.)

Andrea Levy, who in the past has termed herself a libertarian marxist, told the audience she was not a member of the MCM but supported Caron's candidacy. She heaped praise on Caron, saying citizens will be happy if he is elected and ecologists will have a "faithful friend." This stands in contrast to statements of hers in the weeklies, such as one in which she said the "parliamentary route" had been tested and "hasn't borne the best fruit." Her faith in Caron and willingness to back individual candidates seem to have trumped her qualms about parliamentarianism. More recently, Levy was one of 13 signatories of a text advocating proportional representation. She is clearly mired in pointless reformist solutions.

Caron took the floor, saying he was touched by all the praise. The scene in effect had turned into quite the mutual admiration society. Caron said that he was in contact with resource people in

Roger Caron

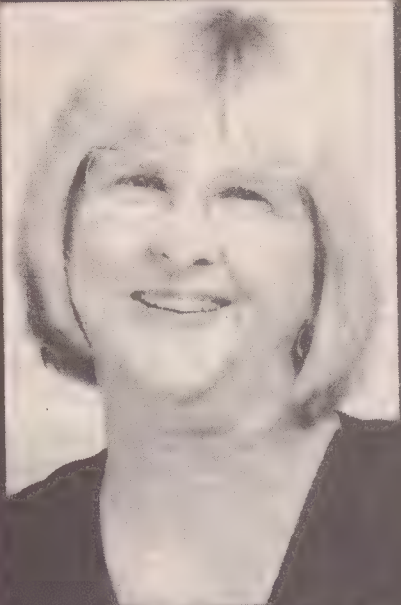


Votre candidat
dans Octave-Crémazie

RCM
Rassemblement des Citoyens
et des Citoyennes de Montréal

the ecology milieu and that several had offered to collaborate with him. He called on people to "put aside their cynicism and apathy" and urged them to join the MCM. He finished his speech and walked over to shake Roussopoulos's hand. Limonchik pronounced Caron the MCM candidate.

The meeting began to break up. Patrick Borden, a tall man with long black hair, strode to the podium. He stated that he was the EM co-president and complained that a misunderstanding had been created by the article in *La Presse*. He was also unhappy that EM had not been informed beforehand about the meeting that evening. What was the MCM going to do about the *La Presse* article, he asked. Prescott said that the question had been clarified vis-a-vis the media.



Lucia Kowaluk
Jeanne-Mance
 Collistière de / Co-Candidate of
Michel Prescott

L'avenir est ici
the future is here

RCM
 Rassemblement des Citoyens
 et des Citoyennes de Montréal

The next day *La Presse* ran a follow-up by the same reporter. Bernard Cooper had called the daily and said that only some EM members had joined the MCM. EM had made no official decision to join the MCM, he said. The reporter also talked to Roussopoulos who said that the EM founders had joined the MCM. "There are only a handful of people in what remains of the group," he said.

THE FINAL MEETING

In early September '98, the EM coordinating committee sent out convocation notices for an assembly. One of the agenda items would be the future of the party, the notice said, and another would be the possibility of endorsing one of the parties in the elections. To

that purpose representatives of the MCM and the Democratic Coalition would be in attendance to present their programs. "The \$1,125.00 allocation to the campaign of Yolande Cohen has been suspended," the notice stated, "given that Ms. Cohen has joined the Team Montreal party, and that this party has not yet presented a 'green' or socially progressive campaign consistent with our ideals."

Only Borden, Cooper and Judith Brown attended the meeting. Three observers were also present. Cooper called the two party representatives to tell them not to bother coming. The Democratic Coalition's Marvin Rotrand was already on the way and arrived shortly after the meeting began. Rotrand delivered his come-on about why his party should be endorsed. Borden asked him questions about the party position on democracy and bicycles. Cooper said he was not interested in endorsing any of the parties. He offered instead to do a comparison of the platforms of the MCM and Democratic Coalition. Rotrand was asked to forward a copy of the party programme. After Rotrand left the question of endorsements was discussed. Borden said he was not interested in endorsing the MCM. He would like to see the platform of the Democratic Coalition, he said. Cooper suggested supporting an abstention campaign being mounted for the municipal elections. Borden disagreed about supporting the abstention campaign. No decision to do a statement or endorsement was made.

Borden said he saw no reason to continue to keep EM alive. Cooper said he was resigning. It was stated that two coordinating committee members who were not present had also resigned. Following the dissolution of the organization, \$6,580.00 was allotted to about a dozen activist projects. A considerable amount was allotted to specifically anarchist projects.

THE ELECTIONS

The election campaign triggered off a barrage of propaganda from the Roussopoulos camp. An MCM fundraising letter on Black Rose stationery, signed by Roussopoulos, put the bite on potential marks: "But a successful campaign needs money and this is the appeal I am making to you. Or if you are

short of funds between now and the first week of November [the election date], perhaps you can offer some time." Readers were informed that Lucia Kowaluk was running in the district of Jeanne-Mance, the riding in which Roussopoulos had unsuccessfully stood in the two previous elections. A family affair! Soon Kowaluk's social worker mug would be grinning weakly from every second utility pole on my street.

Despite the above, an amusing wrinkle is that Roussopoulos is not an actual signed-up member of the MCM. This is a manifestation of his long-time love-hate relationship with the party. While emphasizing during a talk that he is not a party member, he revealed that he is in fact deeply involved with the MCM, mentioning a party meeting he attended which was held in his apartment. He also said he has been invited to organize an MCM committee on ecological issues. This was confirmed by party President Limonchik.

Another amusing aspect is that Roussopoulos claims that Bookchin has been egging him on to take the plunge and formally join the party: "Every time I talk to him on the phone, his opening question is, 'Have you joined the MCM yet, Dimitri?'"

But back to the elections.

Place Publique announced that the Urban Ecology Centre would host a "panel discussion led by Black Rose and *Éco-société* publisher Dimitri Roussopoulos on Libertarian Municipalism." In a later flyer the event had turned more modest and was now sans the panel: "Dimitri Roussopoulos, Publisher of Black Rose Books and president of SODECM, will present his reflections on **The Montreal Elections and Democracy**" (SODECM is the organization which runs the Urban Ecology Centre and *Place Publique*).

Only a half-dozen people were present, not counting SODECM staff. No one I recognized from the anarchist milieu had turned up. Roussopoulos was in fireside chat mode, while Kowaluk contributed occasional commentaries or anecdotes. The talk was a journey through the last 30 years of municipal politics. In the portrayal, Roussopoulos was always at the right place at the right time, in and out of the MCM during the '70s, back supporting it during the '90s. We learned

for instance that Roussopoulos had helped shape part of the MCM program during the '70s. He has come full circle.

Interestingly, no mention of EM was made during the talk. According to Cooper, though, EM had played a central role in Roussopoulos's political universe and his hopes for the party at one point were very high. Its disappearance surely has been a painful blow.

Following the talk, a revealing moment occurred when someone asked about the mayor's role in the structure envisioned by the MCM. Roussopoulos was unable to come up with changes of any type. All he offered was that executive committee meetings would no longer be held behind closed doors. This was termed "a step forward."

At the end of the talk, Roussopoulos informed us that the event that evening was just a start: *Place Publique* would be holding a series of 6 election-related assemblies, including 3 candidates debates. The idea for the events came from Roussopoulos, according to Christian Huot, then editor of *Place Publique*. A *Place Publique* article following the series said that most of the candidates debates were poorly attended. The one in Kowaluk's district had to be cancelled when too few people showed up, leaving poor Lucia unable to uncork her spiel.

Roussopoulos meanwhile deluged *Place Publique* readers with 5 election-related editorials. One was datelined Lisbon, where he was attending a conference entitled International/Interpolis Conference on the Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism. Anti-electoralist protestors were on hand, such as members of the Portuguese section of the AIT. At the conference a speech was delivered which Roussopoulos had co-written with Marcel Sévigny, a libertarian municipalist-oriented city councillor who serves as an independent. The Roussopoulos-Sévigny talk did not go unnoticed: the speech was mentioned in an article on the conference that appeared in the Lisbon newspaper *Diário de Notícias*. A subtitle stated that the most successful experience of libertarian municipalism had occurred in Montreal. This was news to people here. Had a Bookchin-inspired upheaval occurred unbeknownst to us?

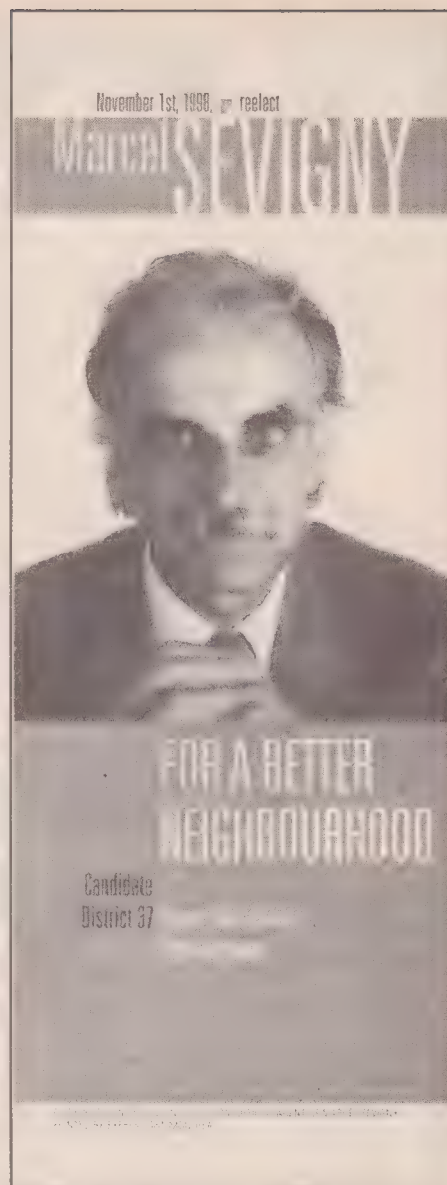
I was able to obtain a copy of the

speech. It contains considerable sleight-of-hand with roles and categories—a profusion of confusion! Most importantly, the activities of neighbourhood groups are systematically mixed in with those of partyists or councillors, all the better to blur boundaries. At the same time, the speech gives an exaggerated impression of the libertarian character of the local community groups' milieu, presumably to yank it into a more Bookchinist perspective. These groups have rarely proposed a truly anti-statist approach. The '70s-80s movement for improved social services the text refers to, for example, was rife with nationalist social democrats and Maoists. In Montreal the polarizing effect of the Quebec independence issue causes almost everyone to either actively wish to preserve the present Canadian state or to create a new, independent one.

There is also an odor of opportunism surrounding the more recent projects referred to, at least concerning ones cited in Roussopoulos's neighborhood. The Urban Ecology Centre and *Place Publique*, projects singled out in the text, have repeatedly been accused of being controlled in a hierarchical manner by Roussopoulos. Specifically anarchist or anti-authoritarian projects in the neighborhood—ones Roussopoulos has been in conflict with—are not mentioned.

MARCEL SÉVIGNY, ANARCHIST POLITICIAN

Swept into office in the 1986 MCM landslide, Marcel Sévigny was reelected in 1990 and left the party two years later to sit as an independent. Along with one other councillor, Ecology Montreal, and a handful of other people, he then took part in Alliance '94, an organization set up to contest the 1994 elections. In a position paper during the Alliance period, he saw the organization as a loose one which would allow "each member group of the Alliance the opportunity to advance its own political programme as it sees fit." Following the breakup of the short-lived Alliance, he delivered a speech at the politician/aspiring politician-inundated Social Ecology and Municipal Democracy Conference. The event took place in Montreal during the run-up to the 1994 municipal election



campaign. In October '94, he was devoted a 5-paragraph section in a portrait of the Montreal anarchist milieu published in *Voir*, a high-circulation weekly. Though rarely spotted at specifically anarchist events, he has remained visible as a conference giver, doing talks on libertarian municipalism at the Urban Ecology Centre (hosted by Roussopoulos) and at the Université Populaire, a weekly Quebec City discussion forum.

In 1988, Sévigny penned a preface to the French version of Bookchin's companion Janet Biehl's primer on libertarian municipalism. And seeing as Biehl devotes part of a chapter to bashing anarchist anti-electoralists, there is no reason for a sitting politician to feel uncomfortable prefacing this "anarchist" book. In it Biehl asserts that oppo-

DUCHESNEAU

DUCHESNEAU, LE
SEUL CANDIDAT
QUI CONNAIT LES
VRAIS BESOINS DES
MONTREÉLAIS



Matraque
Montréal

- Vous voulez un flic à chaque coin de rue;
- Vous voulez un hélicoptère de police par quartier;
- Vous voulez dix informateurs pour chaque citoyen;
- Vous voulez des détecteurs de métal dans les écoles et dans le métro;
- Vous voulez des barages policiers pour contrôle d'identité des gens qui veulent vivre dans notre grande ville;



Le goût d'un grand tyran

Avec Matraque Montréal, vous ne reconnaîtrez même plus votre ville!

Phony poster for the "Billy Club Montreal" party of the former police chief.

sition to electoralism derives from individualism, a nonsense accusation since anti-electoralism has always spanned the anarchist gamut.

In the preface Sévigny confines himself primarily to predictable rhetoric. He pointedly distances himself, however, from Biehl's belief that people would eventually have to arm themselves for a confrontation with the state. This Sévigny puts down to American culture. The Québécois national character, in contrast, he asserts, is non-violent ("non-violence is part of our custom.") A belief on his part, one notes, containing the reassuring perk that an insurrection will not be sweeping *him* out of office....

Further info about Sévigny's approach can be gleaned from his speech at the 1994 Social Ecology Conference mentioned above. Here he criticizes political parties, distancing himself in doing so from the party fetishism of the Roussopoulos faction. But Sévigny criticizes parties only all the better to

promote politicians who run as independents. He serves up the predictable shibboleth that elections are bursting with propaganda potential: "...the involvement at the electoral level for candidature offers possibilities to promote ideas about a project for a different society." He urges people to integrate more deeply into the electoral process: "The electoral periods are potentially effervescent animated moments at the level of political action. The popular/community groups should be particularly active in promoting their demands and in taking the opportunity to strengthen the ties of the popular/community interest within a district." This desire to erase the distance between electoralism and these groups is an attempt to resolve the problem of legitimacy. Instead of being answerable to a party, politicians are said to be answerable to community groups. The role of politician thus becomes legitimate.

But all this remains firmly imbedded

in the realm of representation. Sévigny's complaint is not with representation itself. He accepts that politicians are supposed to represent groups and interests, he just disapproves of the way the current gang is performing in office. (The solution of course lies in not letting ourselves be represented by politicians.)

As a councillor who turns up his nose at parties, Sévigny finds himself in a bind. Montreal remains a city run by parties. He thus embraces an inevitable marginalization as an independent. He is not in a position to influence the broader policies of the city, which are decided by the mayor and the executive committee. His emphasis on local issues becomes a necessity; it's not as if he has much of a choice. Unsurprisingly, one searches in vain in his campaign literature for a broader vision or a truly radical thrust. Like campaign literature everywhere it is geared toward self-promotion and attempts to reap political capital from his state-enforced role

as a mediator.

In a politician validating schema such as this, it comes as no surprise that other authority figures follow close behind. In an interview in a neighborhood paper Sévigny embraces community policing, which has recently been instituted in Montreal: "It is important to assure greater police visibility, which constitutes one of the major objectives of the new community police (police de quartier)."

Which brings me to an anecdote about Lucia Kowaluk and the police. The incident concerns the CANEVAS Collective, a group which specializes in non-violent CD actions which aim at mass arrests. Needing a place to hold meetings, preferably at no cost, the collective requested access to a space run by the Milton Park Citizens Committee, of which Kowaluk was president. The Citizens Committee does not grant free access to the space in question, and Kowaluk was mandated to write a letter explaining the policy. She included suggestions of other places to meet, such as tables at a mall or the "community room at Station 19"...the local copshop! True these CD actions are tame stuff. However they remain illegal and best not discussed in a police station!

ANTI-ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

The election campaign was the setting for a variety of anti-electoral activities. Four anti-electoral posters were produced, including several by one person. Disgust was also directed at police chief turned mayoralty candidate Jacques Duchesneau. Strips of paper with the word police were glued on Duchesneau's blue and orange posters. And a poster appeared that consisted of a large photo of Duchesneau and the names of people killed by the police.

An ad hoc anti-electoral committee was created which produced two additional widely distributed posters and did a couple of actions. During one, abstentionists threw objects (tomatoes, eggs, compost matter and balloons filled with gunk) at politicians during a leaders debate. No one was arrested but security goons went berserk. One abstention-

On November 1, Mayor Bourque's Vision Montreal Party was reelected in a landslide.

...The opposition was in tatters. The Democratic Coalition was reduced from two councillors to one. Team Montreal, the party of former MCM mayor Jean Doré, took only 2 of 51 seats. Yolande Cohen was defeated and Doré came fourth in the mayoralty race....

The once-mighty MCM reaped 4 seats bunched together in one section of the city.

ist was grabbed in a headlock and his head was rammed against a wall. He managed to shake free and escape out a side exit but wound up with a golf ball-sized bump on his head. Another person present, Bernard Cooper, decided to hide under a car to escape pursuing security goons. Unfortunately this turned out to be a bad move. He was flushed out and his glasses were grabbed. He received a beating over the hood of a car and went home without his glasses.

The committee's other action consisted of anti-Duchesneau agitprop which took place in a downtown park.

"Roussopoulos Ridiculed by Prank Posters," announced the title of an article in the *Mirror*, a Montreal weekly. Posters from Roussopoulos's 1990 election campaign were détourned and plastered all over his neighbourhood. Covering the Ecology Montreal logo at the bottom, a new strip of paper had been glued which said that Roussopoulos was running for mayor and for leader of the MCM. "It's meant to confuse the electors," Roussopoulos grumbled to the *Mirror*. Former Black Rose employees were responsible, he hypothesized. Kowaluk was fuming

according to a *Place Publique* staff-person. Not using her real name, she exercised damage control by having a letter printed in *Place Publique* saying that the posters were a joke.

DISASTER

On November 1, Mayor Bourque's Vision Montreal Party was reelected in a landslide. Though falling short of the 50% mark, Bourque himself placed well ahead of his nearest rival.

The opposition was in tatters. The Democratic Coalition was reduced from two councillors to one. Team Montreal, the party of former MCM mayor Jean Doré, took only 2 of 51 seats. Yolande Cohen was defeated and Doré came fourth in the mayoralty race. Ex-police chief Duchesneau hardly fared better. His New Montreal party won only 3 seats. Louise Roy, former MCM president turned New Montreal candidate, went down to defeat. Marcel Sévigny was reelected.

The once-mighty MCM reaped 4 seats bunched together in one section of the city. Mayoralty candidate Michel Prescott was not in the running at 15%. Interviewed shortly after the elections, Prescott regretted that the opposition had not been more united, saying Doré and Duchesneau could have stood as candidates for the MCM. He hoped Bourque would be facing a more united opposition next time.

In his first *Place Publique* editorial after the elections, Roussopoulos lambasted the media for not paying enough attention to the MCM and its mayoralty candidate. He put the best spin on the MCM plight, noting Prescott had gone from fourth place to third during the campaign. "Today, the MCM forms the official opposition," he intoned, although with 4 out of 51 councillors, it's not saying much! More recently, the MCM has been having trouble achieving quorum, including in 3 of the 4 districts won by the party. According to an April '99 article in *La Presse*, only 8 members showed up in Roussopoulos's riding of Jeanne-Mance (quorum is 10).

PIE

Meanwhile, further resignations at *Place Publique* have earned Roussopoulos more bad press. "I simply became tired of the hypocrisy, of the

.....
important
.....

**Élection
Montréal**
1^{er} novembre 1998

Votre nom est-il sur la liste?

**Élection
Montréal 1998**
1^{er} novembre

Liste électorale
.....

La liste électorale est maintenant dressée et mise à jour par le Directeur de l'administration électorale de la Ville de Québec.

Le recensement de la liste électorale a été arrêté le 1^{er} septembre 1997.

Conditions pour voter
.....

Pour voter, vous devez être âgé de 18 ans ou plus, être domicilié à Montréal depuis au moins un (1) an.

Changement d'adresse
.....

Vous avez déménagé et vous voulez exercer votre droit de vote le 1^{er} novembre 1998?

Si vous avez déménagé à Montréal après le 1^{er} septembre 1997, vous ne pourrez, selon la loi, exercer votre droit de vote.

Nouveaux résidents
.....

Si vous êtes nouveau résident à Montréal, vous devez vous inscrire sur la liste électorale de la Ville de Québec.

Cependant veuillez communiquer avec la Régie de l'assurance maladie du Québec afin que votre adresse soit corrigée pour une élection ultérieure.

Révision
.....

Au début d'octobre 1998, le Bureau des élections vous enverra une lettre vous informant de la révision de la liste électorale. Si vous avez déménagé, vous devez vous inscrire sur la liste électorale de la Ville de Québec.



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"Abstention" poster détournant an official city electoral information poster.

undemocratic structure of the organization," said former editor Christian Huot to one of the weeklies, referring to "important decisions on issues that affected the editorial team but were kept hidden from us."

An additional embarrassing incident occurred in July '99 when Roussopoulos was pied at the Urban Ecology Centre. The pieing took place during a talk he was giving before a dozen students from the Institute for Social Ecology. As the talk was about to begin, a local anarchist who had infiltrated the event retired to the washroom to prepare the pie. He emerged to find Roussopoulos and the students seated in a circle. Roussopoulos had his back to the pie man, making him a sitting duck. "Fuck all authorities" the pie man shouted with a strong French accent as he pied Roussopoulos. He then tossed up tracts about the action and hastily departed.

Roussopoulos cleaned himself up and ignored the pieing until a woman asked him about it during question period. On the tape of the talk Roussopoulos stutters and hems and haws for seconds and is clearly having considerable difficulty coming up with an explanation. He ultimately insinuates that the real motive of his Montreal opponents is

resentment about his success as a "builder"!

A short article about the pieing appeared in *Hour*, and several exchanges took place on the Internet after Cooper penned a piece about the pieing. Only one person wrote in to defend Roussopoulos, Wolfgang Haug of Trotzdem-Verlag, a German publishing company which has put out some of Bookchin's Books. Haug has met Roussopoulos several times, he said, most recently at the Lisbon conference mentioned above. He defended anarcho-electoralism, the MCM, and Roussopoulos's business practices, three of the targets of Cooper's letter. Cooper countered with a long reply, quoting from the MCM website and taking up each of Haug's points.

Agent Apple of the Biotic Baking Brigade sent an e-mail supporting the action to Cooper, and several exchanges took place on the Institute for Social Ecology website. A one-paragraph letter from Howard French complained about the "VERY high" prices of Black Rose Books. While not supporting Roussopoulos vis-a-vis the accusations against him, Hamish Alcorn lashed out at the pie man, accusing him of "bitterness" and "envy." Alcorn would appear

to be well coached, since this is precisely the impression Roussopoulos wishes to give of his opponents.

Then, three weeks after the pieing, Roussopoulos himself put forth a response—or rather a one-paragraph non-response. "I do not plan to answer the slanderous allegations made against me; it is not possible to answer them," Roussopoulos said. He claimed he had received many e-mails and phone calls but offered no proof, as Cooper pointed out in a four-paragraph reply. "It is not possible" to answer the accusations, since to do so would be highly damaging to him," Cooper charged.

And thus ends the EM saga, not with a bang or a whimper, but fittingly, with a pie.

Parts 1 and 2 of this essay will soon be published as a pamphlet along with other texts of mine on Ecology Montreal which appeared in *Anarchy*, *Demolition Derby* and *Fifth Estate*. Write to: Michael William, CP 1554 Succ. B, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3B 3L2.

Self-Management

Alfredo Bonnano

T

1.

he problem of self-management is not only a technical problem of how to ensure the functioning of production before, during and after the revolution, but is a more complex problem implicating the very dynamic of the revolutionary process. To study possible models of self-management without placing them in a revolutionary context means nothing at all as far as liberation is concerned.

To ask the meaning of self-management is to ask what the possibilities of the functioning of a society entrusted into the hands of the producers are. But at the same time it means to ask whether it is possible to self-manage the struggle at the present time, in the face of exploitation and genocide.

Self-management of the struggle comes first, then comes self-management of work and society.

If self-management is to serve State production, then we are against it. If it is to serve as an instrument for deceiving the workers yet again, we are against it. If it is to serve as an alibi for some party to come to power on the shoulders of the masses, then we are also against it.

2.

The exploited will bring about the revolution because they are trapped and suffer the progressive loss of every positive aspect of social life. The mass movement is developing on the deterioration of the economic, social and cultural conditions which rendered the preceding administration of the State possible. The work of stimulus and clarification which the revolutionary minority is carrying out is a part of this contradictory structure, soliciting the

autonomous strength that exists within the masses, pushing them to construct the rudiments of self-managed organization which, starting off from the struggle, can extend to the formation of a future generalized self-management through the self-managed revolutionary event.

3.

In the waning phase of consumerism world economic power has tried to use the Yugoslavian type model of self-management on a large scale. Such a solution would be of very great danger to the workers' movement. If they were to fall into the trap they would accept the management of the places of production (only those most easily controllable, never the fundamental ones such as the banks, finance companies, railways or shipping lines), controlled by a bureaucratic political center or in the hands of party leaders—technocrats in the service of a capitalism rendered absolutely anonymous—or under some new kind of charismatic leader.

Self-management would remain in name alone. The workers, under the imperatives of a programming center, would only self-manage their own exploitation. Strikes, for example, would be unthinkable when not specifically forbidden. This self-management would be equivalent to the militarization of production.

4.

In order to give themselves a perspective of self-management workers must first oppose themselves to the present structure of collaboration between the various elements involved in their exploitation. These are: a) the political parties, including those who define themselves "left-wing" and con-

sider themselves the holders of the revolutionary tradition; b) the unions, including those who refer to revolutionary syndicalist doctrines and to anarcho-syndicalism.

The presence of this triple alliance, bosses, parties and unions, is pushing the workers to construct the bases of their own autonomy, to conquer the essential elements which render possible the first steps towards self-management. This does not mean so much an advance in the level of the struggle as a qualitative leap which is attempting to attack the anti-worker alliance brought about by the forces of reaction and their collaborators. It is the class situation in its complexity which is being put in question and examined in a new light. Workers' autonomy is the first step towards self-management.

5.

Another essential phase in the perspective of self-management is the workers' re-appropriation of their creative capacity. The capitalist system, basing itself on the private ownership of the means of production, does not allow for the creative employment of those means by the worker. The activity of production is distorted and produces the phenomenon of alienation: production escapes the worker. His work is well and truly forced labor.

But the creative capacity of the working man or woman can only be recovered through the availability of the product, that is through a revolutionary process of re-appropriation when a reactionary process of exploitation is in force. The revolution in work is therefore the self-managed organization of these first elements of the future society, base production nuclei which in turn grow from the autonomy of the struggle.

Information is a key element in the model of future exploitation. Moments of crisis in imperialist consumerism can be overcome by allowing co-management carried out while maintaining absolute control over information. Every form of counter-information, every deviation from the data furnished by the central directive would have to be carefully excluded. What is known as "preventive censure" is a means to globalize the process and cause the fragmentation of the working class,

mination within the workers' movement due to the effect of certain structural changes; or by an intervention prepared by a precise minority.

The action of an anarchist minority within the mass inserts itself, in our opinion, very well within the perspective of self-management. This does not mean the hypothesis of a "guide" who, in any case would end up repeating social democracy's program; i.e., it means action within the workers' move-

The action of an anarchist minority within the mass inserts itself, in our opinion, very well within the perspective of self-management. This does not mean the hypothesis of a "guide" who, in any case would end up repeating social democracy's program; i.e., it means action within the workers' movement itself, seeking to co-ordinate autonomous organizations in accordance with the interests of the workers, and aimed at safeguarding individual autonomy in the dimension of class autonomy.

thereby eliminating the non-productive strata (controls, time-keepers, etc), and of reducing the importance of some of the intermediate strata (civil servants, etc).

In this reactionary strata the element of struggle which fits in perfectly with the perspective of workers' self-management is that of the conquest of information. The workers organize the information themselves, from the base, taking over the elaboration and interpretation of this information and refusing the participation of any intermediary whatsoever which would act as a filter—in the first place of course the unions.

7.

The project of self-management begins to take form through the essential points we have listed: a) workers' autonomy, b) the recovery of creative capacity, c) the conquest of information. It remains to be seen how this will come about, i.e. if by spontaneous ger-

ment itself, seeking to co-ordinate autonomous organizations in accordance with the interests of the workers, and aimed at safeguarding individual autonomy in the dimension of class autonomy.

8.

The presence of an anarchist minority within the mass, considers the problem of the choice of instruments in the struggle and determines them in a certain way. We attack the interclassist and reformist parties, but not for this do we fall into a stale spontaneity. The points of reference are the workers' interests and they must recognize them as such. A change in structure does not necessarily mean an "automatic recognition" of these, when it is based entirely on the economic event. For example, a struggle for an increase in wages led by the unions is not always in the interests of the workers. It may be in their "apparent" interests. On the contrary, it may be in the "effective" interests of

their exploiters. To understand this is the necessary foundation for the self-management of the struggle and therefore for the firm establishment of the prospect of self-management.

The choice of means for the struggle for example: direct action, sabotage, the destruction of work, carries a need for clarification and an identification of the "real interests" of the working class, and a need for this work cannot be denied by an ill-founded voluntaristic vision of the phenomenon.

The realization of one's own interests is the most important condition for the realization of social revolution.

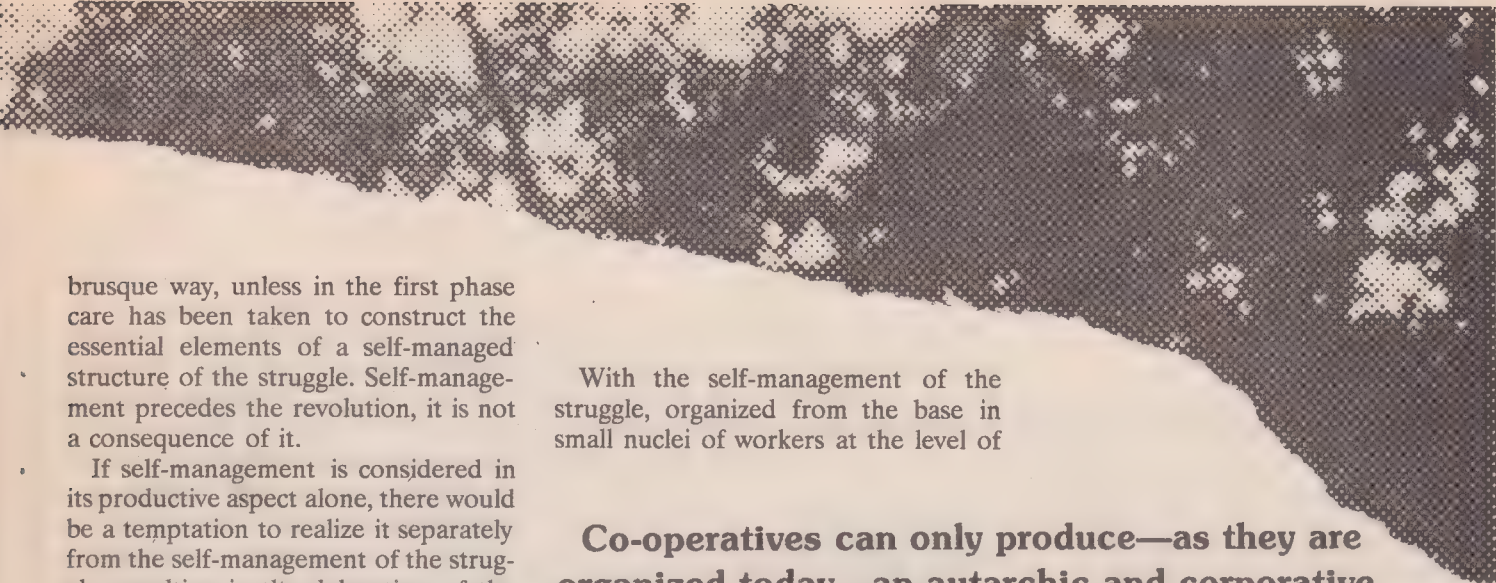
9.

Struggle formulae of the past such as co-operatives, factory councils, rank and file committees, sectorial committees, etc, in the way in which they have been tried out in past historical situations and under other types of production relations, must undergo severe analysis.

In substance, the limitations of these formulae is demonstrated by the fact that capitalist society still exists. The workers must analyze with precision the negative effect which this alienating situation has on instruments which in themselves contain valid elements of co-operation and self-management. For example, co-operatives can only produce—as they are organized today—an autarchic and corporative spirit, a spirit which denies the class struggle and every sentiment of solidarity. Whoever thinks differently, and believes that from co-operatives can grow the seeds of a future society, mutual aid for the benefit of all, is deluding himself in that he is attributing to capitalism not only a utilizable technological component, but also a psychological component of self-management which, in our opinion, does not exist.

10.

The passage from the pre-revolutionary period to the revolution, and therefore to the construction of a new society, cannot come about in a sudden



brusque way, unless in the first phase care has been taken to construct the essential elements of a self-managed structure of the struggle. Self-management precedes the revolution, it is not a consequence of it.

If self-management is considered in its productive aspect alone, there would be a temptation to realize it separately from the self-management of the struggle, resulting in the delegation of the struggle to a specific body (armed wing of the proletariat), to a specific party (workers' party), or to a precise minority in government (democracy in general). Capitalism is very interested that this choice be made by the workers' movement and it is exactly in this direction that it pushed it with all the means at its disposal, in particular with a massive use of the media. We must not fall into the trap.

In placing the organization of the struggle alongside the organization of production in the perspective of self-management, reactionary and capitalist forces are automatically expelled from the field of action of the workers' movement. In fact, capital could never manage a struggle led by the workers autonomously, the instruments usually employed (parties and unions) would become useless in this case.

11.

The revolutionary project is based on the existing relationship between producer and product. In this relationship other elements exist which affirm and modify it at the same time without transforming it radically. Clearly this relationship must be egalitarian, that is each according to his needs and from each according to his possibility. It must be organized from the base, otherwise it will not be egalitarian. And it must be simple and elementary, that is it must spread to the abolition of the market mechanism which deforms needs as well as the financial aspect of production.

With the self-management of the struggle, organized from the base in small nuclei of workers at the level of

Co-operatives can only produce—as they are organized today—an autarchic and corporative spirit, a spirit which denies the class struggle and every sentiment of solidarity. Whoever thinks differently, and believes that from co-operatives can grow the seeds of a future society, mutual aid for the benefit of all, is deluding himself in that he is attributing to capitalism not only a utilizable technological component, but also a psychological component...which...does not exist.

production, attacking the centers of exploitation, a movement of cohesion for the future development of the conflict, and through the conquest of information will reach the definitive expropriation of capital, *i.e.* the revolution.

The struggle for self-management and the independence of organizations of struggle means to fight at the same time for independence in the organization of production. It is impossible to make a difference between the two.

12.

The prospect of self-management must be carefully constructed today, avoiding all the errors inherent in a separation between self-management of the struggle and self-management of production. The first to be interested in this separation are precisely the capitalists. Separating self-management of the struggle from its logical consequences (self-management of production) through which the important result of tiring the conscious minority of the

proletariat is obtained, leaving them before a confrontation with no outlet, and drives them to remain in the "comfortable" perspective suggested by the parties and unions. Separating self-management of production from its logical premise (self-management of the struggle), another important result is obtained for capitalism—emptying self-management of its revolutionary meaning, increasing production and profits, safeguarding institutions, and having the working class once again in the hands of the parties and unions.

Unity of the workers in the autonomy of the struggle, unity in the perspective of self-management, unity in the process of revolution and production. These are, in our opinion, the essential points of every correct analysis of self-management.

Alfredo Bonnano's "Self-Management" was translated from the original Italian version appearing in the now defunct review *Anarchismo* in the early 1990s. This version was posted on the A-Infos News Service [<http://www.ainfos.ca/org>] in March, 1999.



POST- LEFT ANARCHY

T

here remain large numbers of anarchists who continue to identify closely with the political left in one form or another. But there are increasing numbers ready to abandon much of the dead weight associated with the left tradition. The following pages of this issue are devoted to beginning a new exploration of what is at stake in considering whether or not identification with the political left has outworn any benefits for anarchists.

The bottom-line question is, can anarchists do better outside the left—from a position of explicit and uncompromising critique, than those who have chosen to inhabit the left have done from within? Or, alternatively, could we possibly do any worse?

Left: One part of the massive Krupp works complex at Essen, 1912.

Anarchy Going Post-al?

Alex Trotter

A few thoughts on the subject of "post-left anarchy": First of all, is an anarchy that is post-left also post-right (as in lifestyle monarchism, perhaps), or does that go without saying?

The idea of a post-left anarchy seems to imply an ongoing half-life relationship with the left, just as the idea of the "postmodern" implies an ill-defined and incomplete rupture with the modern. I find post-al categories awkward, so I'll suggest calling it anarchy *beyond* leftism, rather than post-leftist. Another way of looking at it, I suppose, is that being after leftism is analogous to the position taken by the situationists in relation to culture ("We take our stand on the other side of culture. Not before it, but *after*"), in other words, leftism is to be "realized and suppressed" in the manner of a Hegelian *Aufhebung*. But I won't quibble too much over terminology. Better to establish what is meant by leftism (whether we're after it or beyond it). Your *Webster's* will characterize the left (the sinister, from Latin) in very general terms as "advocating change in the name of the greater freedom or well-being of the common man" and having the "desire to reform or overthrow the established order." Thus leftism runs on a continuum from reform to revolution. In its main stream, the left usually refers to bourgeois liberalism and social democracy, in its extremes to leninist sects of various kinds. It can appear under the banners of liberalism, marxism, anarchism, humanism, feminism, nationalism, and a host of other isms as well. It's connected to the ideas of progress and democracy.

This is the leftism that Bob Black criticizes in his book *Anarchy after Leftism* (and other of his writings) for its organizational fetishism, repressive and obfuscating ideology, and merely piecemeal challenges to the system of domination maintained by Capital and the State that have the practical effect of strengthening that domination by correcting its most blatant, reactionary weaknesses and making it more efficient. But there is one other, somewhat different, use of the term "leftism" I'm aware of, and that appears in Richard Gombin's *The Origins of Modern Leftism*, which presents an overview of the development of the most radical currents in France leading up to the great upheaval of 1968. In Gombin's idiosyncratic definition, leftism refers to currents of mostly marxian inspiration, such as council communism, surrealism, the Situationist International, the Frankfurt School theorists, and such figures as Henri Lefebvre and Wilhelm Reich. These sources, some of which we might think of as ultraleft (although that term, too, is awkward), were partisans of revolution. The goal of revolution is shared by many representatives of both kinds of "leftism," even if what is meant by the term "revolution" differs. There is revolution, and then there is revolution. Because of the unfortunate corruption that words undergo (or their inherent inadequacy as symbols), it might help to make a distinction between reform/revolution (leftism) and insurrection/revolution (revolution of everyday life; the project of casting off the totality of modern domination). The best efforts at revolution have been both "aristocratic" and egalitarian, embodying the hope that the cause of the common man could transform

itself into that of the uncommon man and woman. Because classical anarchism spent much of its career either tail-ending bourgeois liberalism or defining itself, albeit negatively, in relation to the Soviet Union, and competing with marxism for the title of the true "scientific socialism," it was indeed leftist (in Black's, not Gombin's, description).

This takes us to the Russian question, for "post-left" means, to a large extent, post-Soviet. Post-left anarchism is the sound of the other shoe dropping after the collapse of the USSR.

In the 1970s Jacques Camatte, building on but also criticizing the work of Italian communist Bordiga, reexamined the Russian Revolution from a perspective that focused on the unfulfilled promise of the populist movement, which stood outside both marxism and anarchism. Camatte looked at populism in light of Marx's interest in that movement late in his life. Marx saw a possibility of communism arising in Russia through the grafting of Western science and technology onto the village peasant commune, and not through the Marxist/progressivist program of capitalist industrialization. Camatte was interested in the Russian case as prime example of a predominantly agrarian society that, although partially connected to Western capitalism, nevertheless had the opportunity to bypass the capitalist "stage" in its own development in moving directly to a libertarian communist society. Marx thought that this opportunity would not last forever, and that past a certain point some form of capitalist development would probably be inevitable for Russia. This opportunity was in fact lost, with some of the populists becoming marxists, some turning to terrorism, and others going on to form the nucleus of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. But the example of Russian populism offers insight for the situation of much of the world today, because capital has still not fully supplanted noncapitalist economies and culture through what Marx called "real domination." The current "globalization" of neoliberal capitalism is in part an effort to sweep away the last barriers to a society made entirely in capital's image and based entirely on its presuppositions. In order to do this, corporate capital must break up whatever rural communities and common lands still exist in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, so as to achieve the capitalization of all agriculture as the prerequisite for further conquests of industrialism. This process is done in the name of progress and, yes, revolution. The same Marx who eventually came to see virtues in avoidance of the "capitalist road" had praised capitalism and the bourgeoisie in the *Communist Manifesto* as the most revolutionary force the world had ever seen. There are movements in the less developed countries today, not to be confused with third worldism, that involve the resistance of communities to capitalist enclosure by corporations and/or the state. The nationalist, quasi-leninist fantasy of a "third world" revolution against the West, which was launched in the 1920s, and had rightist/fascist as well as leftist/bolshevik origins, has withered along with the Soviet Union, its chief sponsor. But can communitarian movements (e.g., peasants or native peoples in Brazil or Nigeria trying to fend off ranchers and oil companies backed by the state) be anything other than purely defensive, and doomed, struggles against the neocolonial encroachment of the technological society? Perhaps capital can only be defeated "at home" in the Western metropolises.

The paradigm of revolution seems exhausted in the West, however. All revolutions thus far have succeeded only in expanding the scope of capital's reign. The revolution to end capital has remained a will-o'-the-wisp, and revolutionary ideologies based on the privileged agency of the proletariat have failed to deliver. The "proletarian revolution" of the classic type never recovered from the derailment it suffered at the hands of fascism and bolshevism. After World War II situationists and others attempted to broaden the definition of proletariat beyond the narrow sense of industrial workers, and certain others coming out of the ultraleft, like Camatte, came to reject the theory of the proletariat altogether. These developments in theory among French marxists take us in the direction of post-leftism (and for others in the direction of the postmodern, but that's another, less interesting story). Perhaps revolution still has possibilities; I have a lingering attachment to it myself. Situationist and autonomist theory seem to represent the tail end of the best of the marxist tradition. If these theories have any liberating potential left in them, they can probably be expected to display it in the countries of their provenance in the past (primarily France and Italy). Other countries with great revolutionary traditions, such as Mexico, have shown that these traditions are still alive today in new forms like the Zapatista movement.

There is another paradigm besides revolution (or reform/revolution) to describe the outcome of resistance to the modern domination of Capital: collapse and abandonment. Modern technological civilization may be more likely to end in the manner that the empires of antiquity ended, rather than the manner in which the ancien régime of France, Russia, or China ended. The limits to capital appear to be more external (e.g., ruinous stresses on the natural environment) than internal (class contradictions). There were revolutionary risings of the slaves in ancient Rome, but none of them ever succeeded, although the Spartacus revolt did come damn close.

The United States began as an imitation of the Roman Republic; it may well end in bloated imitation of the Roman Empire. Today, with the end of the Soviet empire, the United States stands without rival for domination of the world, much as the Roman Republic did after the defeat of Carthage. The strategists among the U.S. elite now concern themselves with preventing the emergence or reemergence of any rival power, but the candidates are few and on a local/regional level: France in Africa, Germany in Eastern Europe, China in East Asia: Weak and humbled as it is,

"Post-left" means, to a large extent, post-Soviet. Post-left anarchism is the sound of the other shoe dropping after the collapse of the USSR.

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however, Russia is still the wild card in this game; a nuclear-armed fascist Russia is just about the only prospect that could seriously rock the boat of the new-(est) world order on the geopolitical level. It looks as if the entire world will become Americanized, if it hasn't already. The current triumph of Western capitalism is like the prosperity of Rome; to a Roman citizen living under the reign of Augustus, two thousand years ago, it probably seemed that the good times, such as they were, would roll forever. The pace of change is rather telescoped in our own time, and it won't take hundreds of years for the denouement of the current situation, in which the "good times" are manifestly troubled times, to unfold.

I often don't feel very sanguine, though, about the possible results of the collapse of civilization. It wouldn't necessarily result in the kind of stateless liberty and happiness that we'd like to see. To be sure, there are examples, such as some of the mound building cultures in North America, of civilizations being abandoned in favor of a return to a society closer to the gathering/hunting lifeways, but more often, as in the case of the Roman Empire and other civilizations of a high level of complexity, a new form of class domination arose from the ruins. For the inhabitants of modern civilization, who are so completely dependent on technology and not equipped very well to make a reconciliation with nature, a general collapse would be difficult, especially for people living in cities, who have (at present, at least) little or no ability to produce primary food resources. Collapse could entail the advent of a kind of post-industrial feudalism, despite the best efforts of freedom-loving people to take it in a different direction. We want to live in Fourier's Harmony, but we may instead get the world of Mad Max.

That's the scenario I see when I'm feeling pessimistic, which, thankfully, isn't all the time.

To conclude, what is the content of "post-left" anarchy? That is not easy to say. Its manifestations are/will be multifarious, and many if not most of them will no doubt wind up being recuperated into subcultural or leftist ghettos, but if they have any common denominators to characterize them, I would say they are spontaneity, rejection of ideology, and a utopian passion expressing itself in the desire for pleasure and happiness bursting out of the commodity constraints that usually contain and distort these desires. The "right to be lazy" is the closest thing we have to an invariant revolutionary or insurrectionary "program." As the Russian artist Kasimir Malevitch, avatar of "suprematism," put it in the 1920s, long before postmodernism and postleftism, "Idleness should be mankind's main goal." Trying to realize this goal on the grand scale seems, by its very nature, difficult to theorize.



Don't let the Left(overs) Ruin your Appetite

Lawrence Jarach

Anarchism, freed from its ideological confines, can best be thought of as a critical theory: a way of promoting egalitarian, non-coercive individual and cooperative initiative, mutual aid, and self-activity. Anarchists can and must stand on their own if they are to have any relevance to the project of building a humane future; it will be more effective when antiauthoritarians get rid of the dead weight of leftism that keeps them marginalized in a post-leftist world. A final break with the remnants of leftism which, unfortunately, continue to permeate anarchist discourse cannot be accomplished without scrutinizing (however cursorily) the history of the interactions between the adherents of the two philosophies.

Introduction

An uneasy relationship has existed between anarchists and leftists from the time Proudhon positively proclaimed himself an anarchist 150 years ago. From the 1860s through the 1930s most anarchists considered themselves to be an integral part of the international labor movement, even if there were

moments of extreme conflict within it; leftist anarchists saw themselves as the radical conscience of the Left—the left of the Left, as it were. But since the death of 19th century anarchism on the barricades of Barcelona in May 1937, anarchists haven't had a movement to call their own. As a result, many anarchists trail after leftist projects, seemingly oblivious to the sometimes fatal historical rivalry that has existed between the two tendencies. They get seduced either by the seemingly antiauthoritarian characteristics of such groups (like *decentralization*), or by the use of some anarchic vocabulary (*direct action* for example).

The most notable recent example is the widespread uncritical anarchist support for and solidarity with the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army). The name of the organization should be enough to cause anarchists to pause: *national liberation* has never been part of the anarchist agenda. The use of the Mexican flag at EZLN conventions makes it clear that the EZLN is a Mexican-identified movement, not an international one. Their calls for fair elections within the context of Mexican history is quite radical, but it remains a statist demand, and as such cannot be anarchist by any stretch of the imagination. The EZLN, for all its revolutionary posturing, is a broad-based democrat-

ic movement for progressive social change within the fabric of the Mexican state; it is leftist, liberal, social democratic, postmodern, courageous in the face of overwhelming odds and official repression...you name it, but it is not anarchist. The zapatistas don't refuse solidarity from anarchists, but to extrapolate from this fact that they themselves are anarchists—or even antiauthoritarians—is wishful thinking at best. Characteristics are not the same thing as definitions.

Anarchists and the International Labor Movement, Part I

The initial place where the rivalry between leftists and anarchists occurred was the First International (1864-72). Besides the well-known personal animosity between Marx and Bakunin, conflicts arose between the libertarian socialists and the authoritarian socialists over the ostensible goal of the International: how best to work for the emancipation of the working class. Using parliamentary procedures (voting for representatives) within a framework that accepted the existence of the state was the main tactic supported by the authoritarians. In the non-electoral arena, but remaining firmly within a statist agenda, was the demand of the right of workers to form legal trade unions. In contrast, direct action (any activity that takes place without the permission, aid, or support of politicians or other elected officials) was promoted by the libertarians. Strikes and workplace occupations are the best examples of this method. The leftists preferred persuasion and the petitioning of the ruling class while the anarchists, recognizing the futility of this approach, preferred to take matters into their own hands: peacefully if possible, more insistently if necessary.

Another rift had to do with the issue of nationalism, which was a reflection of the tension between centralization and decentralization. For a majority of Internationalists, nationalism was seen as a progressive force because it led to the consolidation and further industrialization of natural resources and the means of production. This in turn created a larger proletariat, and a larger proletariat meant a better chance of successful revolution. Most anarchists correctly saw nationalism as a force opposed to federalism, a basic organizing method of libertarians. These and other irreconcilable conflicts between the two tendencies (such as the place of the individual in the class struggle) led to the decline of the International. This dissolution began in the wake of the Paris Commune in 1871; by the time Marx was able to relocate the General Council to New York in 1872 (far from the libertarian influence of the Spanish, French, and Italian sections), Bakunin and other leading anarchist activists had already been expelled from the organization. Individual anarchists were welcome to remain in the International, provided they dispensed with their antiauthoritarian principles. The First International became an anarchist-free zone for the last four years of its existence.

The social democrats (marxist or non-marxist, but always anti-revolutionary) who began the work of creating the Second International (1889-1914), already agreed (by the mere fact that most were members of legal socialist parties) that its methods were to be peaceful and lawful. They promoted universal male suffrage, with the program of

getting their members elected to legislative bodies in order to enact pro-union laws, eventually legislating socialism into existence. Despite the total absence of any discussion of direct action, federalism, or revolution there were some anarchists (mostly syndicalists yearning for a big organization to join) who wanted to participate. They were rebuffed; the Second International was anarchist-free from the beginning.

Interlude: Anarchists in the Mexican and Russian Revolutions

The Mexican Revolution began in 1910, primarily as a middle-class rebellion against the corrupt and ultra-conservative *porfiriato* (the years of the rule of Porfirio Diaz). Anarchists were involved in the agitation to get rid of Diaz, most notably members of the PLM (Mexican Liberal Party), whose main theoretician was Ricardo Flores Magon. The PLM remained active throughout the revolutionary period. They tried to gain allies and supporters for radical land redistribution programs among the peasant armies of Villa and Zapata, and to a large degree were successful.

Another arena of anarchist agitation was the Casa Del Obrero Mundial (House of the World Worker) in Mexico City. The Casa was the place where anarcho-syndicalists, revolutionary unionists, and socialists congregated. Their focus was on legalizing unions and other aspects of industrial relations rather than on the agrarian question, even though the majority of Mexico's poor and working people were landless peasants. A majority of those involved in the Casa were adherents of a philosophical tendency that defined its members by the term *científicos* (more or less "scientists"): rational, urban, civilized. As such, they were appalled by the use of the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe on the banners of the original zapatistas. In addition, their constant collaborations with authoritarian socialists seems to have weakened their adherence to libertarian principles; so much so that they became partners in the Red Battalions, which were organized by the center-left Constitutionalists to fight against the Zapatistas. This was the first (but unfortunately not the last) seriously embarrassing and shameful episode of anarchist history, when authoritarians took advantage of the gullibility of anarchists for their own benefit.

Rather than uniting with the radical peasants in the countryside around a truly revolutionary program of total expropriation of landed estates and industries (in keeping with their pronouncements), the syndicalists of the Casa preferred to make common cause with their anti-radical legalistic leftist rivals to kill and be killed by peasant revolutionaries. Later, as the result of a general strike in 1916, the Casa and all unions were outlawed, their more radical leaders were assassinated or imprisoned, and almost all urban revolutionary activity ceased. The new Constitutionalist rulers understood that anarcho-syndicalists, the erstwhile allies of progressive leftists, could not be mollified as easily with promises of legal status as the authoritarian socialists, and the leftists didn't seem to mind too much that their libertarian rivals were out of the picture.

The overthrow of the czarist regime in Russia in February

1917 was the defining moment of 20th century leftism. Suddenly political parties were decriminalized, political prisoners were amnestied, the death penalty was abolished. Revolutionary activity mushroomed, dominated by the Social Revolutionaries (SRs) in the countryside, the Bolsheviks (the left wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party) in the cities and the armed forces, and anarchists all over (their influence far out of proportion to their actual numbers). In the early months of the Russian Revolution, the SRs and the anarchists supported the slogan: "The land to the peasants; the factories to the workers"; the Bolsheviks were hesitant about the slogan as a program since they were the heirs of the more cautious notion that the masses still needed to be led by technocrats and other smart people like themselves. But as the momentum and enthusiasm of revolutionary self-activity continued (in the form of councils—*soviet* in Russian—and factory committees), Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership adopted the slogan as well. Another slogan soon appeared: "All power to the soviets."

Each of the slogans was interpreted differently by the different revolutionary tendencies. For anarchists and left SRs (the right SRs had previously split away from the revolutionary aspects of the SR program in favor of strictly parliamentary activity) the slogan "The land to the peasants; the factories to the workers" meant just that: the peasants and workers would have total control over what was produced, how it would be produced, and how, when, and where it would be distributed. Federalism was the preferred method of organizing such a situation. For the Bolsheviks, however, such independent and decentralized self-activity was unthinkable; the State should decide how and when and where commodities were to be produced and distributed. Centralized planning was promoted as the only efficient and just way to control production and distribution. After the Bolshevik seizure of state power in October 1917, the approved revolutionary slogan became "All power to the soviets," and that bothersome business about the land and the peasants and the factories and the workers was phased out.

Similarly there were unique interpretations of "All power to the soviets," depending on party affiliation. To the Bolsheviks this was a call for a government of representatives from the soviets of workers, peasants, and soldiers with the addition of party members who, together, would implement and guide the dictatorship of the proletariat. To the left SRs and the anarchists, the slogan meant a federation of soviets and factory committees with or without delegates; for the anarchists this also meant no state at all.

The differences of interpretation turned into armed confrontations within six months of Bolshevik rule. The soviets began to be turned into organs that merely ratified Bolshevik executive decisions, while the more independent factory committees were abolished. Anarchists and left SRs who pointed out this anti-revolutionary tactic were arrested by the Cheka and were imprisoned—and sometimes executed—with counter-revolutionaries. In April 1918, the Cheka and regular police forces carried out simultaneous raids on anarchist centers in Petrograd and Moscow; the anarchists returned fire but eventually surrendered. The surviving arrested anarchists were deported the following year.

Meanwhile in the Ukraine from 1918-21, the Makhnovist Insurgent Army was creating liberated zones for workers and

peasants by encouraging and facilitating the expropriation of landed estates and factories while carrying out a total war against the Whites (monarchist counter-revolutionaries), Ukrainian nationalists (republicans and socialists), and, on occasion, Trotsky's Red Army. Twice there were formal treaties made between the Red Army and the Insurgent Army, and twice the Bolsheviks broke their agreements when it suited their military and state policy, arresting—but most often executing—the insurgent anarchists. For the Russian anarchists who supported the Makhnovists (there were many who didn't, believing that a military structure was incompatible with true anarchist goals), this was the definitive end of their honeymoon with the Bolsheviks.

In the spring of 1921, the Bolsheviks faced the most serious threat to their retention of state power and their pretense of being the party of the proletariat. There was a rebellion at the island naval fortress of Kronstadt, just off the coast from Petrograd. The sailors, soldiers, and workers, frustrated with the intensely destructive policies of War Communism as well as the heavy-handed response of the Bolsheviks to a strike of factory workers in Petrograd, began a protest movement against government injustice. Their demands included an end to forced grain requisitions in the countryside, abolition of the death penalty, freedom of speech and press for all socialist groups (including anarchists), and open (that is, not dominated by the Communist Party) elections in the soviets. Hardly any anarchists were involved in the rebellion (most had already been arrested or killed, and Kronstadt was a Bolshevik stronghold), but the complaints and demands of the Kronstadters fell in line with the anarchist critiques of the Soviet regime.

Lenin and Trotsky issued many misleading denunciations of the rebels, often resorting to outright fabrications in their characterizations of its leaders. They were afraid of the appeal (coming, as it did, from a bastion of approved revolutionary activity) such a call for a decentralized, directly democratic program would have on a population weary of War Communism (since the civil war had been officially over for several months) yet still committed to the revolutionary slogans of "All power to the soviets," and "The land to the peasants; the factories to the workers." The Bolsheviks, preferring the methods of statecraft over revolutionary solidarity and compromise, attacked the island and massacred the rebels who survived the military suppression. Even for the anarchists who were willing to excuse the excesses of authoritarianism in the Bolshevik government, this was too much. Many left Russia voluntarily at around the same time that the dissident anarchists were deported, ridding the Communist Party of its most radical opponents. The Soviet Union was subsequently unencumbered by the influence of anarchists.

Anarchists in the International Labor Movement, Part II

In the aftermath of the consolidation of Bolshevik rule in Russia, the Third—or Communist—International was formed in 1919. Non-Russian anarchists, excited about the real possibility of revolution spreading around the world in the wake of the Russian Revolution, initially tended to overlook the centralized and authoritarian nature of the organization



(much as their Russian counterparts had overlooked the same aspects of the Bolshevik state for the early years of its existence). At the time of the first conference of the Comintern, the majority of Russian anarchists were either dead or in prison (despite Lenin's assurances that there were no real anarchists in his jails—only criminals). Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and anarcho-syndicalists from around the world who were attending lobbied the Soviet government to release these so-called criminals from jail; the Russians were quietly released and expelled. Members of the American IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) and the Spanish CNT (National Confederation of Labor) declined to affiliate to the Comintern.

Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder" was published in 1921, the same year of the suppression of the Kronstadt uprising, the final destruction of the Makhnovist Insurgent Army and the libertarian communes of the Ukraine, and the adoption of the neo-capitalist New Economic Policy. This screed was aimed primarily at council communists and other independent revolutionary socialists, but charges of "anarcho-syndicalist deviationism" were thrown at all of Lenin's opponents. All those not uncritically supportive of the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its methodology of democratic centralism were declared to be objectively counter-revolutionary. The attempt to keep the international labor movement subservient to the orders of the headquarters in Moscow, of which Lenin's tract was the most public aspect, was nearly totally successful. The strategy of socialism in one country was promulgated and with centralized hierarchical discipline in place, the Comintern could be used to further Soviet foreign policy goals.

Spain

The revolutionary response to the attempted military coup in Spain in July 1936 resulted in a protracted civil war between the defenders of the old monarchist order and the upholders of the five year old parliamentary democracy. Members of the large anarcho-syndicalist CNT were put in an awkward position: supporting one form of government over another. Some chose to pursue revolutionary goals rather than become government anarchists, but the majority went for collaboration with the forces of legalism—some even entering the government by becoming Cabinet Ministers.

By that time the Comintern had adopted the anti-revolutionary policy of the Popular Front, promoting parliamentary democracy in opposition to fascism through an alliance of republicans, middle-class progressives, social democrats, and Communists. This final abandonment of class struggle led directly to the May '37 Communist-dominated Popular

Front's armed suppression of the CNT and the anti-stalinist POUM (Worker's Party of Marxist Unification), the two mass organizations in Spain at least nominally committed to some sort of revolution. The international labor movement was in the control of stalinists for the next decade.

Left: Young Libertarians killed by Communists during the May events in Catalonia, 1937.

The Left

The Left has consistently been identified with the international labor movement from the time of the First International; with the shift of focus from western Europe toward Russia beginning in 1917 and continuing into the 1960s, leftists have identified themselves in relation to events that occurred in the workers' paradise. Whether a leninist, trotskyist, stalinist, or non-leninist communist, each variety of leftist has a particular view of when things went wrong (or not) with the Russian revolutionary experiment.

For anarchists who considered themselves part of the Left even after the debacles of the Internationals, this method of self-identification created a crisis: whether to make accommodations to the politics of leninism or to dispense with any and all hints of vanguardism. Most opted for the latter, but some (including the former Makhnovist Arshinov and Makhno himself) favored the militaristic vanguardism of the "Anarchist Platform." Their more principled anarchist opponents called the Platformists "anarcho-bolsheviks," for whom it was merely a case of the unchecked authoritarian behavior of the Bolsheviks that led them to abandon the true revolution; the necessary existence, goals, and methods of a self-conscious militarized revolutionary vanguard were accepted in full. Such an analysis dispensed with the idea of a mass-based self-organized revolution and substituted the armed action of a minority; this put the Platformists firmly within a tactical framework of leninism. This was not the first—or last—time that anarchists would flirt with the more authoritarian aspects of radical theory and practice.

The main lesson of the anarchist presence in relation to the first two Internationals is that socialists prefer anarchists to be invisible and silent. That of the revolutionary experiences of Mexico, Russia, and Spain shows that for socialists, the only good anarchist is pro-government or dead. Loyally fighting for a Mexican Constitution didn't slacken the resolve of Mexico's rulers in outlawing and repressing anarcho-syndicalists who insisted on exercising their legal rights to organize radical trade unions. Helping to make revolutionary changes in cooperation with the Bolsheviks didn't protect the anarchists from the wrath of Lenin and his cohorts when the anarchists insisted on remaining attached to libertarian principles and tactics. Neither did being part of a coalition of leftists and liberals in opposition to fascism shelter anarchists from the homicidal rivalry of stalinists and social democrats twenty years later.

The '60s and '70s

The social upheavals beginning in 1968 ended the near total eclipse of anarchism in the years following the Spanish experience. The formation of the New Left in the preceding few years, precipitated by examples of non-Soviet socialist alternatives (the Chinese, Cuban, Yugoslavian, Albanian, Korean, or Vietnamese models) resurrected an interest in unconventional and non-conformist aspects of political theory, which led to a renewed study of anarchist and non-leninist revolutionary history. Tactics of anarchist organizing were adopted by non-anarchists because of their assumed inherent anti-hierarchical nature (in keeping with egalitarian

presumptions, as was the trend of those early days): consensus decision-making, affinity groups, rotating leadership or the lack of any and all formal leaders.

These outward forms (characteristics) of quasi-egalitarianism were usually accompanied by the celebration of various nationalist movements that had emerged in the context of global anti-colonial struggles, giving birth to an odd hybrid: pseudo-anarchic nationalist revolutionaries—activists who adopted the anarchist slogan “smash the state” while at the same time carrying the flag of the NLF (National Liberation Front, or “Viet Cong”), a stalinist popular front whose

declared aim was the consolidation and centralization of the Vietnamese state. To anti-imperialists, some states are better than others, especially if they are in conflict with the United States. The problem, from an anarchist perspective, is that the goal of this strategy is to smash a particular state, not statism or government in general.

The response of '60s militants to legal repression and the rise of third worldism contributed to the disintegration of the New Left, which began in earnest when the revolutionary potential of the working classes in imperialist countries was played down and eventually dismissed. This theoretical innovation was accompanied by the rise of urban guerrilla groups; the military actions of an elitist anti-imperialist vanguard were substituted for the self-activity of “the masses,” especially the working masses. The exploits of these violent militants superficially hearkened back to the years of anarchist *propaganda by the deed*: bank robberies, bombings, assassinations. From the mid-1880s through the 1920s, some anarchists engaged in spectacular violent and illegal actions. The idea behind this

unorganized but widespread strategy was to prod normally complacent workers into mass revolutionary activity by showing the vulnerability of bourgeois society and of individual political and economic leaders in particular. It didn't work, and was largely abandoned as counterproductive, but the popular association of anarchism with violence and mayhem was cemented.

The similar tactics of armed struggle groups and anarchists of the previous century led to the equation of the two tendencies in the analyses of many observers. As often as the media and various officials portrayed all violent political

groups as “anarchist,” the groups themselves never tired of pointing out (to anyone who would listen) that they were not anarchists at all, but communists or socialists or progressives or nationalists or leftists.

Having the actions of urban guerrillas (fighting the imperialist state in solidarity with third world national liberationists) equated with those of armed anarchists (combating the state in solidarity with anyone—including themselves—who is oppressed by authoritarian social relations regardless of the political ideology of their rulers) must have been maddening to the leftists of the '70s. Their ideological forebears had been struggling for the previous 150 years to be rid of the stigma of anarchism, only to have it foisted on them again because of a similarity of tactics. But the leftists had only themselves to blame for this confusion since they had already appropriated an important term from the vocabulary of anarchism: *direct action*.

Characteristics Vs. Definitions

In the anarchist tradition the term *direct action* was never used as a euphemism for violence, unlike *propaganda by the deed*. It simply referred to any consciously political act that took place outside the realm of electoralism and other forms of statecraft: decision-making that uses mandated and revocable delegates instead of representatives, and creating mutual-aid networks instead of relying on welfare are two examples. In a general sense then, direct action refers to actions that encourage and expand the self-activity of any person or group without resorting to the institutions of the state. Polite or violent public protests, on the other hand, are undertaken in the hopes that policy makers can be influenced to implement legislative reform; this is the liberal (/conservative) or leftist (/rightist) strategy of appealing to political leaders' good will and/or fear. Since this strategy relies on the actions of people not directly involved, it has nothing to do with an anarchist understanding of direct action.

Registering public dissatisfaction with government policies (by marching, demonstrating, fighting cops, destroying property, expropriating banks, liberating prisoners, assassinating political/industrial leaders) is agitation and propaganda, not direct action. The effects of such activity on creating and sustaining anti-hierarchical communities beyond the clutches of politicians are extremely limited. It may make anarchism attractive to some people—which is exactly the point of propaganda (by the deed or idea)—but the point of direct action is to become accustomed to making decisions using anti-hierarchical methods, and then implementing positive egalitarian alternatives to statist ways of living. Unfortunately, most activist anarchists have adopted the leftist usage of *direct action*, meaning any angry confrontation with the state, rather than the traditional anarchist definition: ignoring the state.

This confusion is the result of substituting characteristics for definitions. Anarchism has a definition. It is a discrete political theory and practice; to be an anarchist means to be against all government. A social change movement might be decentralized, use some form of direct democracy (the mandated delegate model, for example), call for international solidarity, and use non-anarchist direct action (in the leftist

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contemporary
leftists any
more than
they could
150 years
ago.



Spanish CNT revolutionary.

sense of using limited violence or property destruction to further their programs), but these are characteristics of antiauthoritarian methods, not a definition of anarchism. If these tactics are used as part of a strategy for gaining legal recognition or influencing and/or implementing legislation, then those who use them cannot be anarchists; not because some self-appointed guardian of the ideology says so, but because anarchism is anti-legislative by definition. Anarchists are not frustrated liberals with an attitude, nor are they impatient authoritarian socialists unafraid to pick up a gun.

Conclusions

Maintaining a minority position of principled antiauthoritarianism within a larger authoritarian framework, as anarcho-leftists insist upon doing in relation to the Left, is naïve at best. This brief historical survey has hopefully provided ample examples of the suicidal nature of such a project. Leftists want neither a loyal opposition nor a radical conscience, and they have made it abundantly clear over the last 150 years that they don't like anarchists and prefer not to have them around, cluttering up their moves for polite and safely legislated social change or sudden military coups d'état. Leftist anarchists consistently refuse to learn from the history of the interactions between their ideological predecessors and their desperately desired contemporary anti-anarchist allies. Involvement in non- (and anti-) anarchist fronts and alliances tends to make anarchists suspend the pursuit of their unique goals.

The conflicts that have existed between authoritarian socialists and anarchists have not gone away. Whether it's the tension between centralization and federalism, nationalism

and internationalism, the role of the individual in relation to society and the state, or the more fundamental issue of statecraft (electoralism, agitating for legislative reform, etc) versus direct action, anarchists stand in opposition to the issues and programs of all kinds of leftists. The leftist agenda is predicated on the use of legislation, representative government and all of its coercive institutions, centralized economic planning by technocrats and other experts, and a commitment to hierarchical social relations.

Promoting self-activity, egalitarian interpersonal and social relations, and cultivating a critical perspective are among the best aspects of anarchism. As such, they are worth extending. Accepting spoon-fed solutions and programs, engaging in non-reciprocal solidarity with leftists, and other characteristics of ideological myopia need to be discarded. Anarchists, with their emphasis on the principles of mutual aid, voluntary cooperation, and direct action, cannot share a common agenda with contemporary leftists any more than they could 150 years ago.

A return to authentically anarchist principles, coupled with some understanding of the troubled history of the relationship between leftists and anarchists, can go a long way toward reinvigorating antiauthoritarian theory and practice. At the same time, moving beyond the melioristic beliefs (especially about western European technology, culture, and science) of 19th century anarchism, which have made the programs of anarchists and leftists seem similar, is crucial. The relevance of anarchist self-activity can only increase when the vestiges of authoritarian leftist assumptions and distortions are discarded from the words and behavior of antiauthoritarian activists, critics, and theorists.

New Movement on Horizon

John Zerzan

Not so many years ago the dominant orientation of anarchism was leftist. Anarchists have always stressed self-management of society, but what that society should be was pretty indistinguishable from what Marxists assume it should be. In other words, technology and mass production, rooted in division of labor and domestication, were givens to most anarchists.

In the course of the '90s there has been a fundamental shift, still underway, in what most anarchists see as the foundations of a free, healthy society. Self-managed factories and other forms of productionism and specialization are now widely understood as no advance at all. In this increasingly standardized, massified, anti-nature monoculture of a world, more and more anti-authoritarians realize that the answers go deeper than self-management of existing institutions.

A primitivist outlook, which indicts technology and civilization as well as capital, seems to be gaining ground in various parts of the world. As conditions visibly worsen at every level—the increasingly desolate individual psyche, ever more pathological and atrophied societies, the devastated natural world—we are driven to delve deeper in our analysis of a deeply toxic, future-less totality.

And there are signs that a new movement is beginning to emerge, signs of a militancy in outlook that just might overtake the general cynicism and pessimism.

David Ehrenfeld wrote in the January-February 1999 *Tikkun* ("The Coming End of the Technological Age") that the days of the everywhere-triumphant Megamachine are in

fact numbered. Rather surprising to see a mainstream magazine herald the fairly imminent collapse of techno-capital, and in no uncertain terms. Ehrenfeld writes of the invincibility of the system as just an illusion compared to its real vulnerability.

Soon thereafter, the hitherto mainstream conservation quarterly *Food & Water* editorialized (Spring 1999) in its own surprising fashion. An editorial entitled "Objectifying Violence" concluded with the injunction to "Go forth and sabotage!" Decades of mild, non-militant, write-your-congressperson advocacy has led only to an accelerating assault on nature, *Food & Water's* editor reasoned, and he courageously faced up to this impotence. Needless to say, enjoining the magazine's readers to commit acts of sabotage horrified many of them.

The Yuppie Eradication Project has drawn local, national, and even international media attention for its vandalist efforts to protect San Francisco's Inner Mission district from complete gentrification. Trendy bars and expensive restaurants moved into the neighborhood, sending rents spiraling and creating an impossible hardship for the area's low-income residents.

Once suspected of being the handiwork of only a handful of people, Y.E.P. has drawn a hundred or more to recent meetings; nocturnal attacks have spread to at least one additional San Francisco neighborhood.

The 30th anniversary Woodstock rock festival in late July ended in the looting and burning of tents, booths, and 12 semi trucks. At the end of August an anti-consumerism group

bombed fast food outlets at a Moscow shopping mall, declaring that "a dead consumer's unfinished hamburger is a revolutionary hamburger." Also this summer, the rising

militancy of animal liberationists was publicly noted, and the implications of its advances were understood by some. Richard Epstein, a University of Chicago law professor, observed that "there would be nothing left of human society if we treated animals not as property but as independent holders of rights."

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In Eugene, anarchists have engaged in property damage for over a year, forcing public discussion of anarchy as the only real alternative to a cancerous, all-destroying global system. Breaking the rules in a sustained way has brought anarchy out of its former marginalized, suppressed position, and has raised radical alternatives in Eugene and, quite possibly, elsewhere soon. The June 18 "Reclaim the Streets" protest involved about 300 who indeed reclaimed the streets, breaking business windows and skirmishing with police for several hours in an "Anarchist Rampage," as the local front page headline put it.

This activism is informed by a critique of the ensemble of domination, including technologized existence and its wellspring, civilization itself. The primitivist analysis is now widely discussed in such places as London, Istanbul, and Paris, inviting the suspicion that public contestation may be just around the corner.

What does not seem likely is a return to an anarchy dominated by the productionist/workerist/syndicalist perspectives of, say, Murray Bookchin and Noam Chomsky. A far more radical liberatory vision is taking shape, equal to the horrors around us and aware of whence they come. This out-

look vastly deepens the insights of Marx, and is entirely fed up with the endless compromising and half-measures of leftism.



When We Looked at the World with the Left Eye

Manolo Gonzalez

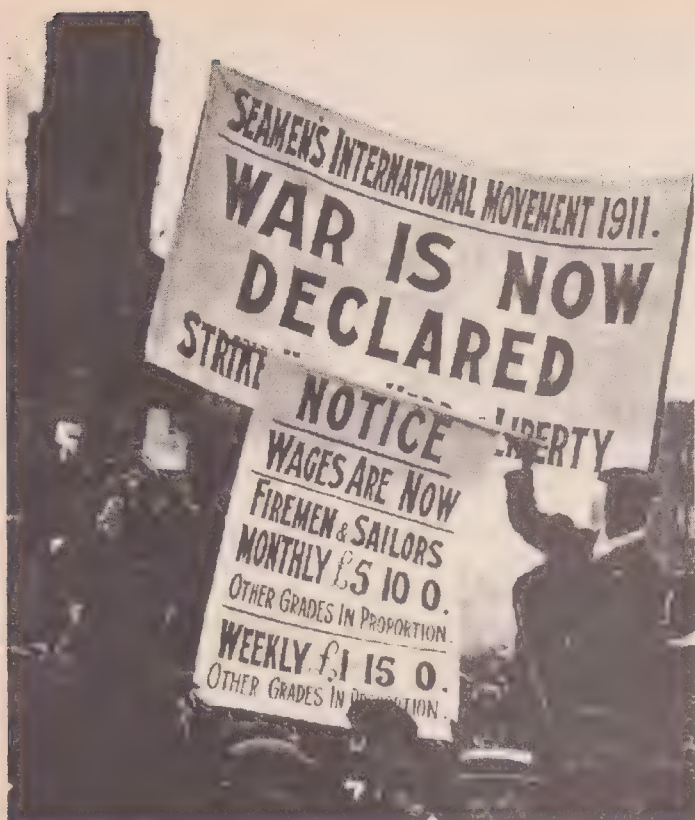
During the years between the Commune of Paris (1871) and the beginning of the First World War (1914) European socialism had one of its best periods of growth and ideological clarification.

After the demise of the First International with the historical debates of Bakunin and Marx, socialists saw themselves as the righteous heirs to the tradition of the French Revolution (1789). The eloquent criticism by Marx and Engels of modern capitalism became an ideological argument that could debunk Catholic dogma as well as the doctrine of Adam Smith and its economic liberalism. The Second International (1898), in spite of the serious objections of Marx and his most fanatical followers, became a powerful movement that confronted European and North American capitalism.

The growth of socialism in Europe with its heavy anticlericalism and appeal to reason intimidated the Vatican. The Pope issued an Encyclica *Rerum Novarum*. It would become the creed of the Christian-Democratic parties.

The Joys of Revisionism

Regardless of the revolutionary rhetoric of most social-democratic parties, soon they followed the example of the German Party and chose parliamentary means for social and political change. Only the Russians with Lenin and his cohort persisted in conspiratorial violence and, while waiting for the right "material conditions," spent their time insulting the European social-democrats. Especially poor Karl Kautsky who for some mysterious reason was the victim of the most vile and obscene insults from Lenin.



The revisionism of LaSalle and Bernstein helped the German Social-Democrats and, in a certain way, the French socialists to compromise. Bismarck used the socialists to consolidate his iron power upon Germany; the German socialists built up a powerful party with a large circulation press, a workers bank, party headquarters, and in every election obtained a strong parliamentary delegation. Soon they managed to vote for workers insurance, disability pensions, paid vacations, and obtained respectability. Even the Kaiser was impressed!

For the French socialists the compromise was not so shameful. They needed only a claim to be the heirs of the Revolution and the 1848 battles. Republicans, anticlericals, artists and intellectuals embraced socialism with a mystical fervor that was to be tested in the controversial Dreyfus Affair. Alfred Dreyfus, a young Jewish army officer, was accused of high treason. Dreyfus was a part of the Republican efforts to create a new army, loyal to the Republic and able to avenge the debacle of 1871. Officers of this democratic army would be formed by recruiting men from the working and middle classes. The French left was galvanized to defend Dreyfus. Émile Zola, one of the glories of France, united progressive public opinion and saved Dreyfus. The socialists as well, supported the patriotic fervor of France for revenge!

The French left, regardless its performance during the Nazi occupation as the core of the Resistance, collapsed in 1968. The insurrection of students and workers precipitated in confrontations that were a prelude to revolutionary civil war. The government asked the Communist Party for its help. The P.C. complied and persuaded the unions to go back to work.

The successful defense of Dreyfus made the French socialists a most welcome ally of democratic Frenchmen still trying to prevent the Royalists, Catholics, and conservative

industrialists from promoting militaristic adventures against the Republic. The brilliant socialist Jean Jaurès asked all European and American socialists to join in a strong resistance against war. The International was to unite the workers for peace and socialism. In congress after congress German and French socialists embraced and proclaimed that they would never fight each other. Everybody cried. But just before war broke out all over Europe Jaurès was murdered and the socialists of Germany and France voted for credits for the war. After that they joined their regiments and went, full of patriotic fervor, to kill their comrades. The Kaiser, with dramatic gestures, told the Deputies in the Reichstag, "From now on I do not recognize parties, only Germans!"

The German left, ideologically convinced of the solid principle of Historical Materialism, with almost 65% of the vote, died an ignoble death in the elections of 1933. The Nazis won only about 34% of the vote. Socialists and Communists, in an absurd tug of war, divided their votes. But beside those sentimental, naive and perhaps well-meaning idiots, there were more realistic and less ideological socialists who, under Constitutional Monarchies went to fight for better conditions for the workers, social programs, health, housing and a real peaceful foreign policy. The Scandinavian countries kept away from the bloody insanity of 1914-18. Sweden became a model of gentle socialism, the first welfare state.

The Monarchy and the Red Flag

And then we have the British socialists with their long history of struggle and organization of the workers. The Labor Party and the Trade Unions Council created a most solid front against the abuses of capitalism. It did not stop the involvement of England in the war, but managed to stay influential 'til the end of the conflict. In 1926 the British working class defied capitalism in the General Strike. The British working class did not need any German philosophy to go into action with unity and bravery. Since the times of the French Revolution many political clubs with an anarchist style challenged the Tories and the landed aristocracy. The Owen movement fought for male suffrage. And the exercise of that basic democratic weapon helped to obtain favorable laws for the workers.

In 1883 a group of rather prissy British intellectuals, sexual freedom champions and celebrities created the Fabian Society, which in the most simple terms, asserted that socialism would be obtained by pacific, parliamentary methods. At the beginning the group's leadership was in the hands of prolific writers G. Bernard Shaw, Sydney and Beatrice Webb. Later Lytton Strachey, Virginia Wolff, H.G. Wells and many more joined. They believed that socialism was good manners and Ladies and Gentlemen should join the wave of the future. Year after year they produced socialist tracts on all social and political problems. The Fabian lectures were attended by thousands of British. Though with never more than about 9,000 members, the Fabians had an extraordinary influence in the Labor Party. These ultimate mandarins—supreme bureaucrats, after the elections of 1945 single-handedly created the modern British welfare state.

But nothing escaped the analytical minds of the Fabians. Bernard Shaw in an acid, sarcastic piece envisioned the time

when working class socialists would kneel in front of the King to be Knighted. This farce was played in real life when Clement Attlee, the red mayor of London, was given the honor. Attlee, still a republican, still singing "Red Flag, was one of the many British socialists to share honors with the most dedicated exploiters of the workers. Only the real working class heroes, the Beatles, returned their O.B.E. Sydney and Beatrice Webb visited the USSR and, blinded by well-organized propaganda, destroyed the integrity and credibility of the Fabians with the infamous judgement, "We have seen the Future and it works!"

A more keen observer of the human folly, the French writer André Gide, wrote a book, *Return from the USSR*, denouncing the murderous scene in Moscow, the sinister image of Stalin and the intellectual mediocrity of a society controlled by the Secret Police.

It is ironic that today Bernard Shaw, one of the most prolific and amusing socialist writers, is remembered by "My Fair Lady," the Hollywood version of his "Pygmalion!"

An Ever Expanding Economy of Exploitation

It was not a coincidence that in 1888 a group of intellectuals founded the Anti-Imperialist League in Boston. The United States was under the influence of European theories about territorial conquest, business opportunities, and as R. Kipling has said, it was the "White Man's Burden." Since the times of the Napoleonic wars England, France, Germany, Belgium and Holland had sent expeditions to Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America to secure trade monopolies, extraterritorial concessions and all the privileges that artillery can obtain.

Neither Marx nor Lenin understood the significance of imperialism. Firmly obedient to Marxist mantras, they accepted as an article of faith that "Imperialism was the last stage of Capitalism, decadence and war was the fate of the industrialized nations." The final conflict was predictable, it was a matter of a few hours more. Only Rosa Luxemburg contradicted Lenin and analyzed modern imperialism. It was Latin American social-democrats who observed that imperialism, in reality, was the first stage of capitalism. In the Andes countries feudalism survived with remnants of pre-Columbian communal management of the land. Collective forms of social life, the *Ayllu* or the *ejido*, in no way resembled any European institution during the Middle Ages. From the Philippines to Tanganyika, Buenos Aires to Macao, a new form of entrepreneur appeared, the *compradore*. At first translator, then persuasive voice for foreign commodities to exchange for raw materials, later the active force of international finance.

The colonial partners of imperialism identify completely with the invaders. The *criollos*, *mestizos* "*pied-noir*" spoke in Castilian, French, Oxford English, sent their children to European Universities, and acquired the lifestyle of the colonial masters. Polo, tennis, bridge, cricket. Today it is Rock'n'roll, blue jeans and UCLA English.

American capitalism found immense markets for its junk. Now it is computers, automobiles and the ideology of dynamic progress, or the Alliance for Progress, enforced by the Marines.

The expansionism of the U.S. into the Pacific gave the Anti-Imperialism League the opportunity to mobilize public opinion. After the defeat of Spain, Emilio Aguinaldo organized a national government. But the U.S. took over after Spain and a brutal war of incredible barbarism was launched against the Filipino people. The Anti-Imperialism League denounced the war and, just as many years later in another war in Asia, opposition to the Filipino war was a cause for the American Left. But the U.S. defeated the Filipino nationalists and imposed a benevolent, racist colonialism that would finish only after World War II.

End of the Left as a Farce, Not a Tragedy

Be it the failure of the socialists to prevent World War I or the horror of the Soviet Union, the betrayal of the Revolution in Spain, dogmatic Marxism and its many "chapels," the Left today in most of the industrialized nations is nostalgia and is in an introspective mood. As Arthur Koestler observed with bitter sarcasm. "We used to believe that Marxism would cure anything from stomach ulcers to impotence."

Michael Harrington pointed out the paradox that socialism was a victim of its success. Unions became a part of the compromise with capitalism. Workers had an interest in the system. The labor struggles of the '30s and the incredible profits that American industries reaped after World War II made possible better salaries. This created a golden aristocracy of labor, indifferent to social issues, chauvinistic and unable to stop the depreciation of salaries and wages, while upper management controlled the corporations in an international market. Obscene salaries and conspicuous consumption are the new forms of optimism of the ruling class. The ever expanding economy of capitalism is stuck in competitive blocks from Asia and unified Europe.

Rosa Luxemburg understood that war resulted not only from the need in industrialized countries for markets, but to keep Krupp, Siemens, General Dynamic, Oil, and all conglomerates in firm control of the wealth of the planet.

Gompers, the A.F.L., and Debs

Samuel Gompers attended the conferences of the First International, but as soon as he returned to the U.S.A. he realized that the tactics of socialism and militant unionism were not very intelligent. He preferred union lawyers to radical orators. Gompers disliked the IWW, the socialist press, and especially foreigners involved in American labor politics. Gompers was the obsession of people like Lenin who feared independent labor unions with only economic goals, that were not political instruments for agit-prop among industrial workers.

Eugene Debs founded a Socialist Party that was to become the ideal Leftist organization in America. With pure ethical principles against war, with an appeal to reason and a large contingent of IWW organizers, Debs ran several times for president. To vote for Debs was some sort of elegant protest, or a form of respect for his integrity. Debs spent time in jail accused of sedition.

The Russian revolution was the event that mobilized the different radical factions of the US into a more militant



Samuel Gompers

attitude. To found the Communist Party the socialists divided one more time. Officially the party was founded in Chicago, on September 1, 1919. The problem was there were two CPs. After the Communists could not agree among rival sects, the Third International suggested that the Americans unite, and later obtain recognition from the mother church in Moscow.

The remaining socialists, not very fond of the Communists, maintained small cells in colleges, among liberal journalists and teachers. Norman Thomas became some sort of a saint, who even today brings out tears to the eyes of romantic liberals. But besides the quarrels among reds, pinkos, fellow-travelers, progressives, liberals and dues-paying FBI infiltrators, the American Left confronted the Great Depression with energy and managed to mobilize

large numbers of people in demonstrations and militant actions. A paradoxical observation is that the Okies whom Steinbeck portrayed with great eloquence became the right wing reactionaries of Orange County.

From the beginning in the early '20s, the CP became an extension of the foreign policy of the USSR. Some of the American volunteers in Spain became instruments in the sordid intrigues of André Marty, the psychopathic Commissar of the International Brigades.

It is possible to point to 1948 as the beginning of the decline of radical politics. In an attempt to revive a form of Popular Front the old Left used Henry Wallace as Presidential candidate. The Left was squashed. The election of Truman marks the opening of the Cold War but also the comical repression of the CP and its fellow-travelers.

The Left, liberals and progressives were intimidated by J. Edgar Hoover and the forces of triumphant, unbridled capitalism. In the USA there was no mobilization of peoples' organizations. Witnesses pointed fingers in the Committee for Un-American Activities. Ronald Reagan started his career and ascent to the Presidency, and many persons in the Arts and Letters soiled their names in an era of shame and defeat.

Meanwhile, all over the USA prosperity gave to the average citizen big cars, juicy hamburgers, and the joys of scientific sex. Amphetamines and valium were on hand for any occasional pain.

Epilog as an Epiphany

The final collapse of the USSR and its satellites ended almost one hundred years of ideological fantasies. Scientific socialism based in the 19th Century perception of the universe was more a European-centered doctrine than an historical view of political and economic development all over the world. Marx was too early for Relativity, Lenin was not interested. But in many parts of Latin America, Africa and especially Asia, Marxism was part of movements of liberation and not the formula for revolution. Historical relativism was Maoism, Third World anti-colonialism and the insurgency of forms of nationalism, like the Islamic movement that looked at Marxism as an aberration of Western decadence.

Some of the metaphysical notions of Marxism, like class solidarity or class consciousness gave a mystical, messianical faith to the Old Left. The New Left, during the '60s and '70s added sexual freedom, the bunk of Eastern religions and a pacifism that is conformism today. It went from ESP to a PhD in Harvard's School of Economics.

After the defeat of the US in Vietnam, the so-called class struggle took the form of a new working class in the underdeveloped countries, in battle against the conglomerate of those nations maniacally obsessed with the control of both markets and raw materials.

Cocaine is the most significant illustration of the ferocity of the combat. Native drug capitalists in Colombia, Peru, Bolivia and other countries accumulate fabulous profits, while European and American banks salivate for the expropriation of the production, distribution and consumption of drugs, cocaine, opium, marijuana.

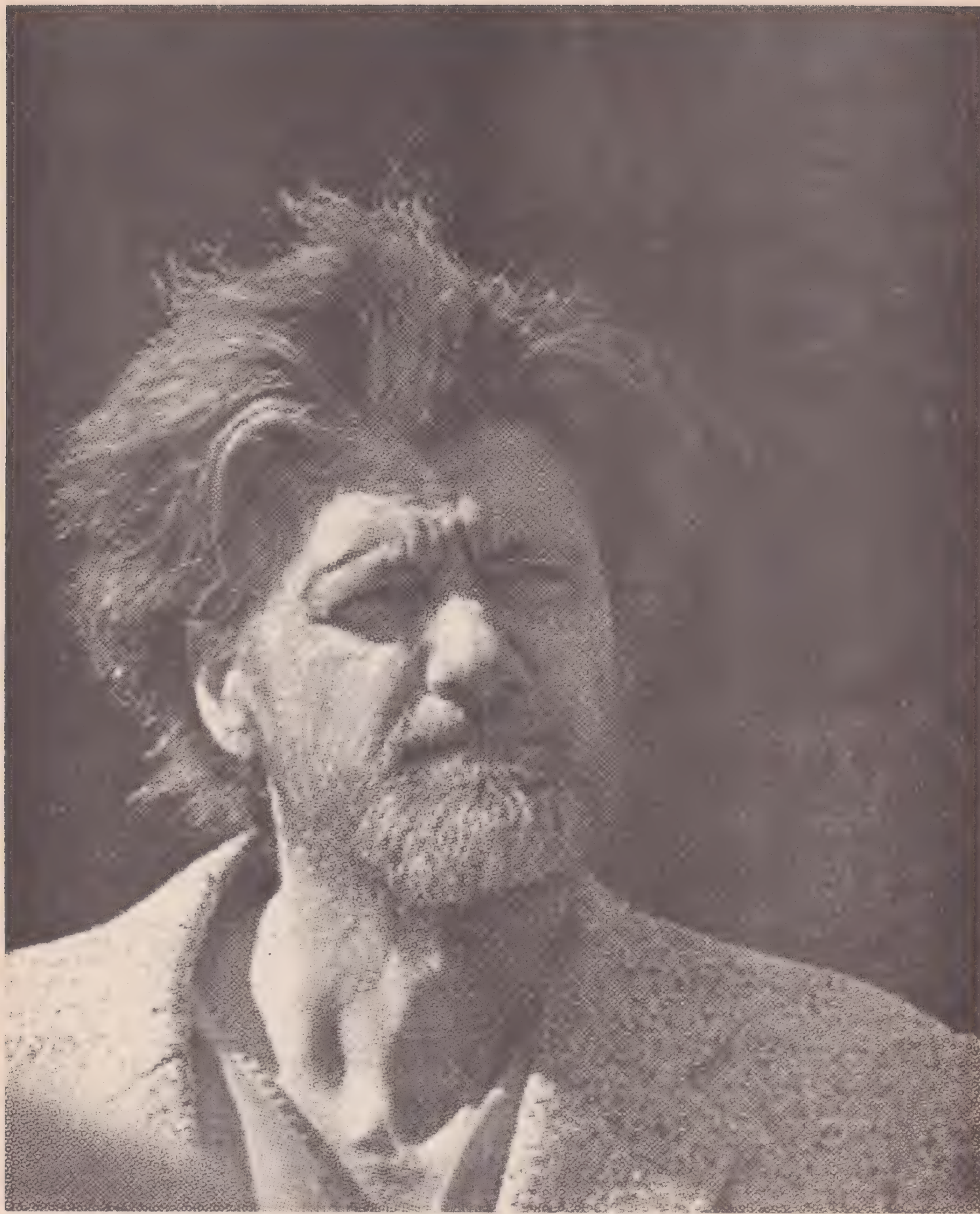
A new stage in the struggle for the capture of all markets and all riches is raging now, taking our planet to an ecological disaster and the breakdown of the organic sources of human biology.

A new optimism is growing. Away from ideological dogma, disdainful of politics and closer to the 19th Century reflections on revolutionary violence.

As Voltaire advised us in *Candide*, "...but now let's cultivate our garden."

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Ted Kaczynski's first interview from prison

by T. K.

"My God! I'm thinking, what incredible shit we put up with most of our lives—the domestic routine, the stupid and useless and degrading jobs, the insufferable arrogance of elected officials, the crafty cheating and the slimy advertising of the businessmen, the tedious wars in which we kill our buddies instead of our real enemies back home in the capital, the foul, diseased and hideous cities and towns we live in, the constant petty tyranny of the automatic washers, the automobiles and TV machines and telephones—ah Christ!...what intolerable garbage and what utterly useless crap we bury ourselves in day by day, while patiently enduring at the same time the creeping strangulation of the clean white collar and the rich but modest four-in-hand garrote!

"Such are my thoughts—you wouldn't call them thoughts would you?—such are my feelings, a mixture of revulsion and delight, as we float away on the river, leaving behind for a while all that we most heartily and joyfully detest. That's what the first taste of the wild does to a man, after having been too long penned up in the city. No wonder the Authorities are so anxious to smother the wilderness under asphalt and reservoirs. They know what they are doing. Play safe. Ski only in a clockwise direction. Lets all have fun together."

-Edward Abbey, *Desert Solitaire*, 1968.

"I read Edward Abbey in the mid-eighties and that was one of the things that gave me the idea that, 'yeah, there are other people out there that have the same attitudes I do.' I read *The Monkeywrench Gang*, I think it was. But what first motivated me wasn't anything I read. I just got mad seeing the machines ripping up the woods and so forth...."

-Dr. Theodore Kaczynski, in an interview with the *Earth First! Journal*, Administrative Maximum Facility Prison, Florence, Colorado, June, 1999.

T

heodore Kaczynski developed a negative attitude toward the techno-industrial system very early in his life. It was in 1962, during his last year at Harvard, he explained, when he began feeling a sense of disillusionment with the system. And he says he felt quite alone. "Back in the sixties there had been some critiques of technology, but as far as I knew there weren't people who were against the technological system as such...It wasn't until 1971 or '72, shortly after I moved to Montana,

that I read Jacques Ellul's book, *The Technological Society*. The book is a masterpiece. I was very enthusiastic when I read it. I thought, 'look, this guy is saying things I have been wanting to say all along.'"

Why, I asked, did he personally come to be against technology? His immediate response was, "Why do you think? It reduces people to gears in a machine, it takes away our autonomy and our freedom." But there was obviously more to it than that. Along with the rage he felt against the machine, his

words revealed a deep love for a very special place in the wilds of Montana. He became most animated, spoke most passionately, while relating stories about the mountain life he created there and then sought to defend against the encroachment of the system. "The honest truth is that I am not really politically oriented. I would have really rather just be living out in the woods. If nobody had started cutting roads through there and cutting the trees down and come buzzing around in helicopters and snowmobiles I would still

just be living there and the rest of the world could just take care of itself. I got involved in political issues because I was driven to it, so to speak, I'm not really inclined in that direction."

In 1971, 29 year-old Kaczynski left his job teaching mathematics at Berkeley and moved into a cabin that he built himself near Lincoln, Montana. For the first decade he says he concentrated on acquiring the primitive skills that would allow him to live autonomously in the wild. He explained that the urge to do this had been a part of his psyche since childhood. "Unquestionably there is no doubt that the reason I dropped out of the technological system is because I had read about other ways of life, in particular that of primitive peoples. When I was about eleven I remember going to the little local library in Evergreen Park, Illinois. They had a series of books published by the Smithsonian Institution that addressed various areas of science. Among other things, I read about anthropology in a book on human prehistory. I found it fascinating. After reading a few more books on the subject of Neanderthal man and so forth, I had this itch to read more. I started asking myself why and I came to the realization that what I really wanted was not to read another book, but that I just wanted to live that way."

Upon his arrival in Montana, Kaczynski says he began an intensive study of how to identify wild edible plants, track animals and replicate primitive technologies, approaching the task like the scholar he was. "Many years ago I used to read books like, for example, Ernest Thompson Seton's *Lives of Game Animals* to learn about animal behavior. But after a certain point, after I had been living in the woods for a while, I developed an aversion to reading any scientific accounts. In some sense reading what the professional biologists said about wildlife ruined or contaminated it for me. What began to matter to me was the knowledge I acquired about wildlife through personal experience."

Kaczynski spoke at length about the life he led in his small cabin with no electricity and no running water. It was this lifestyle and the actual cabin that

his attorneys would use to try to call his sanity into question during his trial. It was a defense strategy that Kaczynski said greatly offended him. We spoke about the particulars of his daily routine. "I have quite a bit of experience identifying wild edible plants," he said proudly, "It's certainly one of the most fulfilling activities that I know of, going

"The big problem is that people don't believe a revolution is possible, and it is not possible precisely because they do not believe it is possible. To a large extent I think the eco-anarchist movement is accomplishing a great deal, but I think they could do it better...The real revolutionaries should separate themselves from the reformers...."

out in the woods and looking for things that are good to eat. But the trouble with a place like Montana, how it differs from the eastern forests, is that starchy plant foods are much less available. There are edible roots but they are generally very small ones and the distribution is limited. The best ones usually grow down in the lower areas which are agricultural areas, actually ranches, and the ranchers presumably don't want you digging up their meadows, so starchy foods were civilized foods. I bought flour, rice, corn meal, rolled oats, powdered milk and cooking oil."

Kaczynski lamented that he was never able to accomplish three things to his satisfaction: building a crossbow that he could use for hunting, making a good pair of deerhide moccasins that would withstand the daily hikes he took on the rocky hillsides, and learning how to make fire consistently without using matches. He says he kept very busy and was happy with his solitary life. "One thing I found when living in the woods was that you get so that you don't worry about the future, you don't worry about dying, if things are good right now you think, 'well, if I die next week,

so what, things are good right now.' I think it was Jane Austen who wrote in one of her novels that happiness is always something that you are anticipating in the future, not something that you have right now. This isn't always true. Perhaps it is true in civilization, but when you get out of the system and become readapted to a different way of life, happiness is often something that you have right now."

He readily admits committing quite a few acts of monkey-wrenching during the seventies, but there came a time when he decided to devote more energy into fighting against the system. He describes the catalyst: "The best place, to me, was the largest remnant of this plateau that dates from the Tertiary Age. Its kind of rolling country, not flat, and when you get to the edge of it you find these ravines that cut very steeply into cliff-like drop-offs and there was even a waterfall there. It was about two days hike from my cabin. That was the best spot until the summer of 1983. That summer there

were too many people around my cabin so I decided I needed some peace. I went back to the plateau and when I got there I found they had put a road right through the middle of it." His voice trails off, he pauses, then continues, "You just can't imagine how upset I was. It was from that point on I decided that, rather than trying to acquire further wilderness skills I would work on getting back at the system. Revenge. That wasn't the first time I ever did any monkeywrenching, but at that point that sort of thing became a priority for me...I made a conscious effort to read things that were relevant to social issues, specifically the technological problem. For one thing, my concern was to try to understand how societies change, and for that purpose I read anthropology, history, a little bit of sociology and psychology, but mostly anthropology and history."

Kaczynski soon came to the conclusion that reformist strategies which merely called for "fixing" the system were not enough, and he professed little confidence in the idea that a mass change in consciousness might someday be able to undermine the technological system. "I don't think it can be done. In

part because of the human tendency for most people (there are exceptions) to take the path of least resistance. They'll take the easy way out and giving up your car, your television set, your electricity, is not the path of least resistance for most people. As I see it, I don't think there is any controlled or planned way in which we can dismantle the industrial system. I think that the only way we will get rid of it is if it breaks down and collapses. That's why I think the consequences will be something like the Russian Revolution, or circumstances like we see in other places in the world today like the Balkans, Afghanistan, Rwanda. This does, I think, pose a dilemma for radicals who take a non-violent point of view, because when things break down, there is going to be violence and this does raise a question—I don't know if I exactly want to call it a moral question—but the point is that for those who realize the need to do away with the techno-industrial system, if you work for its collapse, in effect you are killing a lot of people. If it collapses there is going to be social disorder, there is going to be starvation, there aren't going to be any more spare parts or fuel for farm equipment, there won't be anymore pesticide or fertilizer on which modern agriculture is dependent. So there isn't going to be enough food to go around, so then what happens? This is something that, as far as I've read, I haven't seen any radicals facing up to this issue."

"The big problem is that people don't believe a revolution is possible, and it is not possible precisely because they do not believe it is possible. To a large extent I think the eco-anarchist movement is accomplishing a great deal, but I think they could do it better...The real revolutionaries should separate themselves from the reformers...And I think that it would be good if a conscious effort was being made to get as many people as possible introduced to the wilderness. In a general way, I think what has to be done is not to try and convince or persuade the majority of people that we are right, as much as try to increase tensions in society to the point where things start to break down. To create a situation where people get uncomfortable enough that they're

going to rebel. So the question is how do you increase those tensions? I don't know."

Kaczynski wanted to talk about every aspect of the of the techno-industrial system in detail, and further, about why and how we should be working towards bringing about its demise. It was a subject we had both given a lot of

"I am afraid that as the years go by...I may begin to lose my memories of the mountains and the woods and that's what really worries me, that I might...lose that sense of contact with wild nature...."

thought to. We discussed direct action and the limits of political ideologies. But by far the most interesting discussions revolved around our views about the superiority of wild life and wild nature.

Towards the end of the interview Kaczynski related a poignant story about the close relationship he had developed with snowshoe rabbits. "This is kind of personal," he begins by saying, and I ask if he wants me to turn off the tape. He says "No, I can tell you about it. While I was living in the woods I sort of invented some gods for myself," and he laughs. "Not that I believed in these things intellectually, but they were ideas that sort of corresponded with some of the feelings I had. I think the first one I invented was Grandfather Rabbit. You know the snowshoe rabbits were my main source of meat during the winters. I had spent a lot of time learning what they do and following their tracks all around before I could get close enough to shoot them. Sometimes you would track a rabbit around and around and then the tracks disappear. You can't figure out where that rabbit went and lose the trail. I invented a myth for myself: this was Grandfather Rabbit, the grandfather who was responsible for the existence of all other rabbits. He was able to disappear, that is why you couldn't catch him and why you would never see him...Every time I shot a snowshoe rabbit, I would always say 'Thank you Grandfather Rabbit.' After a while I acquired an urge to draw snowshoe

rabbits. I sort of got involved with them to the extent that they would occupy a great deal of my thought. I actually did have a wooden object that, among other things, I carved a snowshoe rabbit in. I planned to do a better one, just for the snowshoe rabbits, but I never did get it done. There was another one that I sometimes called the Will o' the Wisp or the Wings of the Morning. That was the thing that when you go out in to the hills in the morning and you just feel drawn to go on and on and on and on, then you are following the wisp. That was another god that I invented for myself."

I wondered if he felt that those gods had forsaken him now as he sat facing life in prison with no more freedom, no more connection to the wild, nothing left of that life that was so important to him except for his sincere love of nature, his love of knowledge and his commitment to the revolutionary project of hastening the collapse of the techno-industrial system. I asked if he was afraid of losing his mind, if the circumstances he found himself in now would break his spirit? He answered, "No, what worries me is that I might in a sense adapt to this environment and come to be comfortable here and not resent it anymore. And I am afraid that as the years go by that I may forget, I may begin to lose my memories of the mountains and the woods and that's what really worries me, that I might lose those memories and lose that sense of contact with wild nature in general. But I am not afraid they are going to break my spirit."

And finally he offered the following advice to those green anarchists who share his critique of the technological system and want to hasten the collapse of, as Edward Abbey put it, "the Earth-destroying juggernaut of industrial civilization": "Never lose hope, be persistent and stubborn and never give up. There are many instances in history where apparent losers suddenly turn out to be winners unexpectedly so you should never conclude all hope is lost."

Another version of this interview also appears in the Fall, 1999 issue of *Green Anarchist*, (BCM 1715, London WC1N 3XX, England), as well as on the web site of "The Post-Technology Project" located at: <http://www.bestweb.net/~jfiliss/>

Have something to say? Write us!

We would like to encourage you to write us in order to continue this dialogue, whether you are sympathetic with or critical of anarchist theories and practices. All letters will be printed with the author's name, city and state or country only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full address may be used, that only initials should be used, or that s/he wishes to remain completely anonymous. Writers are also invited to give email addresses.

If necessary, we will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable, excessively boring or contain death threats. (Ellipses in italicized brackets [...] indicate editorial omissions.) Limit length to three double-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, USA; e-mail: jmcquinn@mail.coin.missouri.edu

Revolutionary social experiment

Hello:

Jason at Bound Together Books, San Francisco, sent me a copy of *Anarchy* Fall/Winter '97-98, with my yearly care package of political food for the head. Your zine, like him, are great.

I enjoyed the whole issue, but especially the: "Whose Unabomber?" by John Zerzan It's the first that offered a positive support of T.K., as an individual. Very much like the Nihilist @'s in Russia at the turn of the century....

Also, the letter section had a few excellent thoughts mixed with a lot of petty bickering over whose an @ and whose not. That was not "enjoyable"—cuz I read it from all over; not just in *Anarchy*. ("united we stand—divided we fall")

It would be nice and going forward, to "sit down" with like minded individuals make a list of "errors" & "defects" of various philosophies (as opposed to people) & create a basic & common cause of true equality.

Many people in the world today are desperately seeking something—almost anything—to believe in. Perhaps we could develop and promote an "ordinary people" friendly system of living in peace, harmony & equality w/o govts. making decisions & laws that only serve the purposes of a few.

To do this, I think, we need to think of how we (read @) are alike & stop thinking who is not & gather around the con-

cept of equalitarianism w/o governments. A.K.A. @.

If you think you'd be interested in participating in a revolutionary social experiment to break away from our differences & unite in common cause against govt. oppression & create a world living in peace, harmony & real equality, then write: *The Seed*, Box 154, Albany, NY 12201

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours in Unity,
Pat Earl

Beaumont, TX
P.S. I am in prison, however *The Seed* is co-op type zine preparing it's first issue....

Action Update corrections

dear friends,

just received *anarchy* #47, and have some corrections for you for the description of the *Earth First! Action Update*.

you described our newsletter as *Earth First! the Earth First! Action Update* is called the *Earth First! Action Update*, often shortened to *Action Update*, but *Earth First!* is the network of activists not the newsletter.

the newsletter is the mouth-piece of *Earth First!*

we are not single-sheet either—we are four pages jam-packed reporting actions around our island and sometimes in other places. we also have three features, giving info on things such as genetic site destruction, how to do office occupations, what to do on arrest and everything you need to know about june 18. we have a page of contacts,

of EF! groups and other active groups; in UK and elsewhere.

final correction: it's £5 (not £16!) for 12 issues in the UK and £12 for overseas.

other than that just to say keep up the good work and we all fight over the copy of *Anarchy* when it arrives!

love and revolution,

eflau

c/o Cornerstone Resource Ctr
16 Sholebroke Ave
Leeds LS7 3HB
England

PS: we get lots of hate mail too!!

Substitute teaching

Editor & Readers—

If anyone is looking for a possibility to reach out to people with non/anti-authoritarian ideas, and practice these concepts, I suggest substitute teaching. Daily pay—no boss—complete flexibility—eager minds—and, kids looking for context for their anti-authoritarianism. Doesn't pay bad either! I find that the kids who are in "need" of "special" education question dominate society, history, and their experience with the system. Though work sucks & schools are prison like kids are looking for ideas.

In Revolution & Solidarity
J.T.

Grand Rapids, MI

New federations forming

The news of Love & Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation and Profane Existence dissolving may dismay some people, while others may consider this a good thing...however, there are always new anarchist projects rising from the ashes. These new projects have pledged to be non-bureaucratic and fun to participate in.

Anarcho Punk Federation

The APF, initiated by the Crasshole Collective in Maryland, is an attempt to spread anarchist political consciousness among punks. Sections of this federation are forming all the time. Recent issues discussed on the APF's electronic mailing-list included what the federation's position should be on violence.

One member, who formed the Ontario branch, insisted that he could not distribute the federation's paper, *Counterculture*, if it contained images of bombs, guns, cannons, and other symbols of violence. Other members argued that while the federation is basically non-violent, they could not rule out violent self-defense in a time of revolution and reaction. The Ontario member left the federation, so a new Ontario organizer is needed. Another discussion on the mailing-list was whether the organization should be a loose network instead of a federation, since many people who formed APF Primary Groups were not as committed as others or only represented one or two persons in their area. The resolution decided upon was that the organization would remain a federation, but that the groups that make up the federation would be classified as Primary Groups (who would pay to distribute the federation's paper), and Chapters, which would be basically informal and loose affiliations.

To contact the APF, or form an APF Primary Group or Chapter, write to:

Mary and A.P.F.
P.O. Box 65341
Baltimore, MD 21209
E-mail: durruti36@aol.com

Issues of *Counterculture* can be purchased by sending cash donations for a bundle of issues to the above address.

To join the APF electronic-mail discussion list, send an empty e-mail message to: apf-subscribe@egroups.com

Atlantic Anarchist Circle

The AAC was formed to bring together anarchist groups in the Atlantic region of North America. For about a year or two their method of organizing consisted of producing a newsletter and reporting within its pages on what the groups were doing. In the Summer of 1998 the AAC held a founding convention in Worcester, Massachusetts. They still produce the newsletter. Anarchist groups in the eastern half of the US and Canada are free to join.

The AAC can be contacted

I my NIHILISM

First... *remove the obstacles*

UNIVERSAL-ALIENS-PO-120494 BOSTON-MA 02112

at:
A.A.C.
339 Lafayette Street #202
New York, NY 10012
phone: (212) 979-8353

To join the AAC electronic-mail discussion list, send an e-mail message to **majordomo@tao.ca** with "subscribe aac" in the message body.

Initiative for a New England Anarchist Communist Federation

This project is still in it's infancy. The people promoting this project produce the anarchist newspaper *We Dare Be Free*. Issue #3 contains an article announcing this project, and explaining why such a federation is needed.

For information about the initiative, or to purchase issues of *We Dare Be Free*, write to:

Initiative for a New England Anarchist Communist Federation
c/o *We Dare Be Free*
P.O. Box 390085
Cambridge, MA 02139

What's Left of Love and Rage

One faction of Love & Rage (in New York) that decided to stick with anarchism (who wrote a statement titled "What We Believe") will be producing a publication called *The Utopian*...a "journal of Anarchism and Libertarian Socialism." This was reported by a member of this faction who is on the Internet but he prefers not to give out his e-mail address.

Here is the mailing address of *The Utopian*:
P.O. Box 387
New York, NY 10030

Also, the article "Towards a Fresh Revolutionary Anarchist Group" has been placed on the Internet, written by the Detroit faction of Love & Rage that

still wants to maintain an anarchist position and is friendly to the "What We Believe" group. It can be accessed at: <http://www.worksintl.com/fresh/>

The Detroit group's mailing address is:
ATTN: Mike E.
Detroit L&R
P.O. Box 24952
Detroit, MI 48224

The "Towards a Fresh Revolutionary Anarchist Group" essay can be requested from Mike.

What Happened to the Anarchist Liberty Union?

The ALU was basically a call by the anarcho-punk band, The Pinkerton Thugs, to bring anarchists together in a formal way and build some kind of movement. The members of the band who were working on the project lost interest or had too much to do and passed on the management of the P.O. box to some other people, who have since burned out as well. It is unknown what will become of the ALU, but there are attempts being made to acquire the mailing-list and redirect mail inquires to a new address.

If you are wondering what the story is with the ALU, you can send e-mail inquiries to dwessel@juno.com.

It is true that these organizations have a newspaper, platforms, statements, campaigns, and conferences—and these things may seem bothersome to many anarchists who have remained independent, especially in the United States where anarchist federations are unpopular. However, these groups wish to cooperate with independent anarchists and any other entities in a friendly and comradely manner, and prove by example that they offer

something that will enrich, not inhibit, the anarchist movement as a whole—organization, solidarity, and grass-roots activism.

Anarchist Mailing-Lists on the Internet:

Some time in 1995 a group of anarchists on the Internet who were frustrated with the state of the anarchist movement on-line created an electronic mailing-list called "Organise," intended for class-struggle anarchists (anarcho-communists, anarcho-syndicalists, and libertarian socialists) to discuss organizing. The list now has over 270 members but has a manageable amount of e-mail traffic. To subscribe to the list, send an e-mail request to platform@geocities.com to receive the list Statement of Principles.

For a less structured yet higher traffic mailing-list, there is the Anarchy-List, which can be subscribed to by sending a message to majordomo@lists.village.virginia.edu with "subscribe anarchy-list" in the message body.

Cuban Anarchists

The Libertarian Movement of Cuba is still around. Frank Fernandez has a new post office box, but he replies to letters pretty quickly. Here is his new address:

Frank Fernandez
P.O. Box 1525
Jose Marti Station
Miami, FL 33125-1525

Thank you for producing your excellent newspaper.

Jamal Hannah
Cambridge, MA

Prague 2000

Dear friends,

The campaign against the institutional crimes of the twins

IMF/WB will focus from now on especially toward the next annual meeting of the two institutions in Prague, from 26th-28th September 2000.

The IMF/WB represent the global financial police and the world order supervisors and are guilty for having brought the world's poorest countries into further economic recession and increased poverty. They have extended the number of States categorized as Less Developed Countries, of which the newly independent ex-communist countries are a big part. This has been done by way of debt-rescheduling and the conditions imposed through Structural Adjustment Programmes.

A many years campaign has been going on, addressing the Twins' lack of political transparency and the inhumanity of their economic reforms, especially fuelled by the poor, indigenous communities most affected by these reforms. By their own mission statement IMF/WB have pledged to alleviate poverty but they caused the opposite effects worldwide.

The shift of the annual meeting into the geopolitical space of Eastern Europe is not only due to the Czech government scrupulous efforts to become the hosting country of the event, but also to the Fund's and Bank's way of showing-off their "successful" Eastern Plan.

The sleepy and tired-of-communism-political elites of the Eastern European governments along with their media apparatus haven't got the ears and the eyes to react on the real effects of the Age of Privatisation so far. The other reason for such amnesia is the fact that the quick success of the economic actors, such as new financial speculators and the profitable

company owners have become indicators of success, even if such success does usually have a short life and no role in combating poverty. The civil society, on the other hand is waiting again for the realisation of these promises, with little reaction to what is going on.

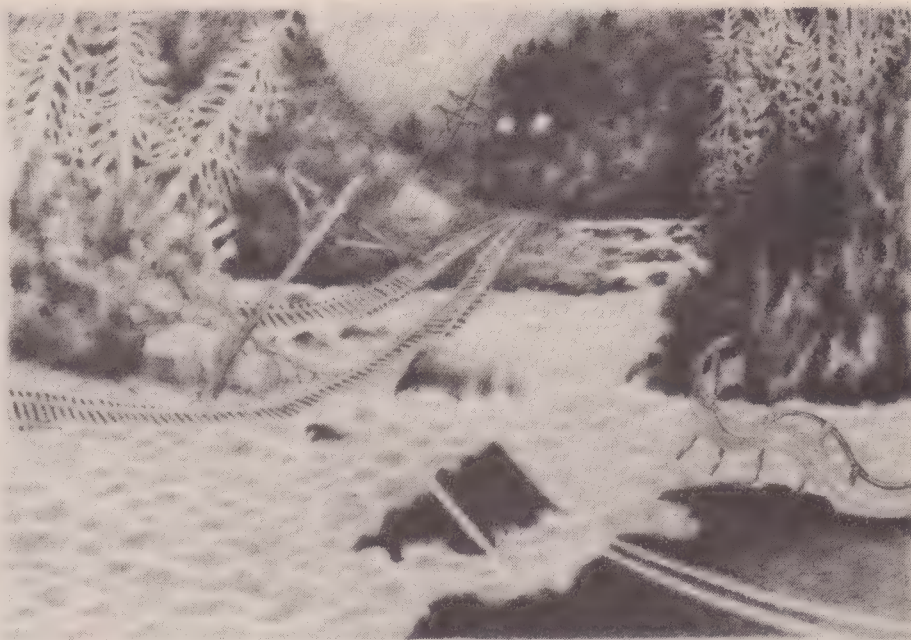
Therefore is really important to re-open the "economic statistical reviews" of this part of Europe and put on the table the proofs of shaky eastern and southern economies and the destructive Fund and Bank policies applied to people and the environment. Moreover, it is necessary for the grassroots movements to target the International Financial Institutions by way of an international and local long term campaign.

Prague IMF/WB meeting is a first and not-to-miss-possibility to start on!

The Peoples' Platform

A large platform of diverse campaigners, direct activists, human rights lawyers, women's organisations, NGOs from all over the world are already setting the peoples programme for saying "hello" from the bottom. Numerous participation from Eastern European grassroots groups and general european participation is what local Czech groups and others are hoping for. Our plans correspond to an activist reality of direct actions and building community ties against this global financial mafia and corporate power.

We need a lot of help to work out all the obstacles, especially governmental pressure and practical organisational problems. We are welcoming a lot of ideas and inputs from all of you that are interested to take part in the preparation activities. We have had some meetings in Prague but still haven't succeeded to bring in many people from outside.



So, if you are one of those happy anarchists, environmentalists...put yourself on our discussion list and try to organise your group toward the anti-IMF/WB meeting activities. Our next meeting is on the 13th of November in Prague.

You can contact us at:

zemepredevsim@ecn.cz &
antiimf2000@egroups.com

More on Ron Leighton's "Defending Chomsky"

[Editor's Note: This letter is a response to Ron Leighton's letter in Anarchy #47, pages 65-71]

Ron,

We all have different levels of analysis, often—but not always—dependent on how many years we've been doing this "anarchy stuff" (as my sister once said), which books/periodicals we've read, the influence of other anarchists with whom we've hung out. I long ago dismissed Chomsky as anything but a left social democrat. That doesn't mean that it is not possible for some important things to be learned about anarchism from reading Chomsky, just that I don't think he will present an accurate picture of the full potential of anarchism. Certainly his membership in the Democratic Socialists of America is indicative of an abandonment of

anarchist principles, and his declared championing of government as a defensive institution to be used against corporate greed and unaccountability puts him out of the anarchy club as well. Being a member of an electoral party and promoting the use of the state for highly dubious ends makes him a socialist, a leftist, or a liberal (or some combination thereof). When Chomsky is a critic of US foreign policy hypocrisy and media complicity in it, he's not an anarchist either—he's just a critic. The amount of time he's spent promoting anarchist ideas or referring to himself as an anarchist is heavily outweighed by the amount of time he spends invoking international law and the UN (things he seems to like and/or take for granted), things which are only relevant to an anarchist analysis in terms of our severe critiques of them. Chomsky's party affiliation, coupled with the terms of his critical discourse, preclude him from being included in the anarchy club; like everyone else, he is to be judged by his actions, not his lip service. He's no anarchist—not because I get to decide who is and who isn't, but because he has put himself outside the pale by his actions. Anyway, that's as much as I want to say about Chomsky.

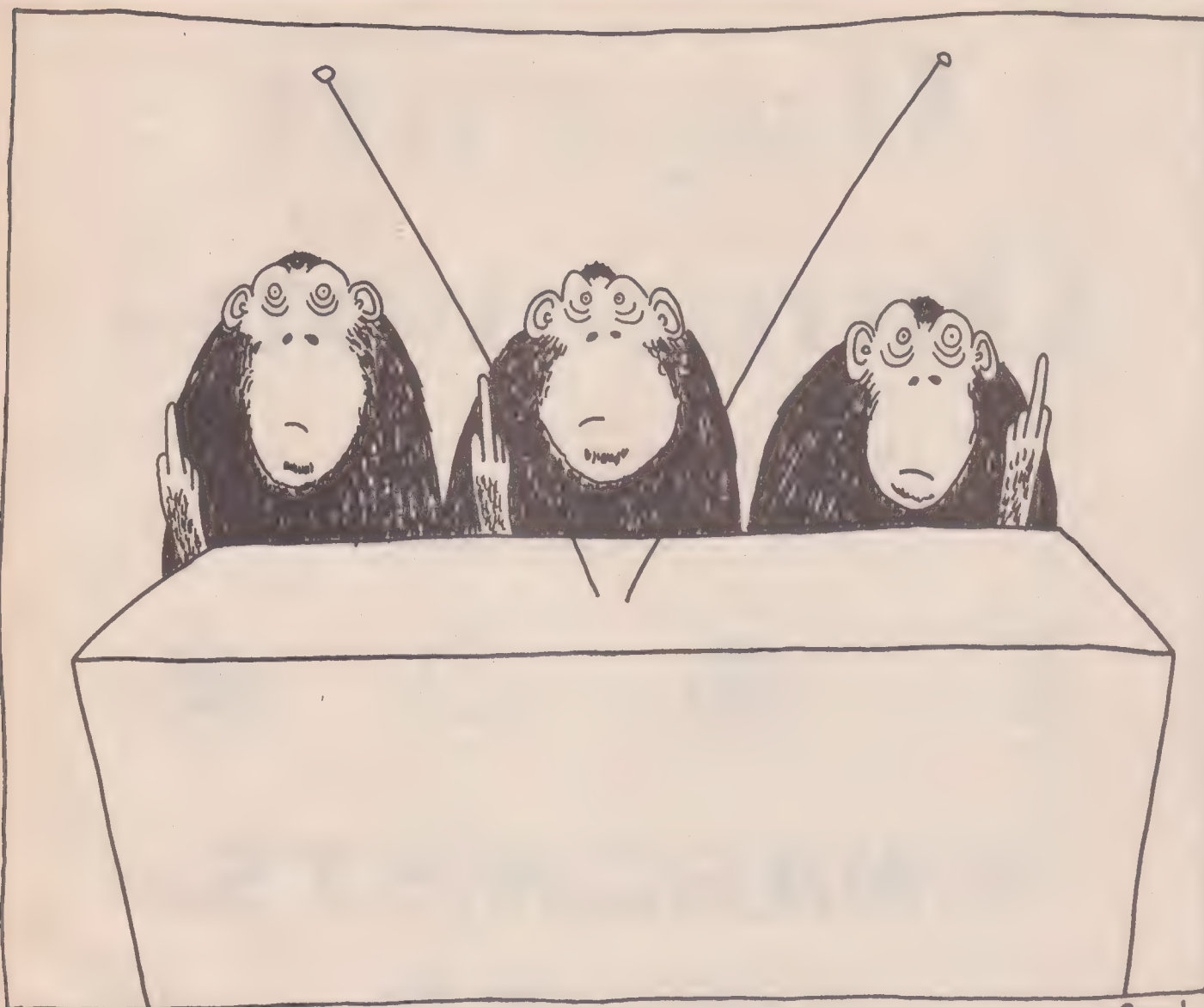
So here's the deal: John prob-

ably didn't want to spend any time writing about any of the things that I just outlined in order to convince you that Chomsky is irrelevant; it seems that you've already made up your mind that the MIT Professor of Linguistics is an exemplar of realistic anarchism. Why should anyone have to give "a more thoughtful response" to four pages of your defenses? Where would one start? Much of what you wrote might be relevant to you and the questions you have about anarchism, but I won't know because

I didn't want to read four pages about Chomsky. My guess is that John gave up too.

John dismissed your defenses without trying to convince you that Chomsky isn't an anarchist, and you can take umbrage at that. But again, people are at different levels of analysis. Sometimes I find it worthwhile to teach a different view of anarchist theory to someone who's just starting out, or to coax her out of what I'd consider an orthodox/19th century understanding of it. Sometimes I don't want to be bothered; often I just don't have the time or the patience to be a teacher. You are obviously intelligent and seem sincere, so I'm taking a little time to coax you along, to give you what I consider a more objective reading of anarchist theory and practice, the problems of contradiction, dogmatism and sectarianism. Hopefully I can present a perspective that's unencumbered by ideological categories and constructs. So here goes...

The state and government are the defining oppositions for anarchists and other anti-statists. To be an anarchist means to be against them, otherwise you can't be one—not because I say so, but because there's a definition of anarchy and anarchism. After that basic definition, things start to get



Mr. fish

diffuse: an analysis of capitalism and the preferred model of anarchist economics is one place where things become contentious; which model(s) of decision-making may be compatible with antiauthoritarian practice is another area of disagreement; the critiques of work, technology, religion, pornography...these things don't define anarchism or anarchist principles. They play a part in anarchist discourse, but they don't *define* it.

To be an anarchist means to be *against* institutionalized violence and other manifestations of government, period. It also means to be for voluntary cooperation, mutual aid, and non-

hierarchical social relations. Everything else will be dependent on the desires, tastes, predispositions, idiosyncrasies, and inconsistencies of each particular anarchist.

Because anarchism isn't monolithic, anarchists are a varied bunch. There are anarchist-communists, anarcho-syndicalists, anarcho-capitalists (although the authentically anarchic ones are hard to find—most of this breed are really minarchists), anarcho-feminists, libertarian-socialists, libertarian communists, anarchist christians, anarchist-individualists, anarcho-just-about-anything. It is useful for these hyphenated anarchists to explain their pre-

dispositions and variables in their titles—then the observer can pick and choose with which sect s/he wants to be affiliated. I prefer a generic anarchism; I know that my tastes change, and I like having the ability to change them without being sectarian about it. Also, I define myself as an anarchist only with reluctance (there's nothing else out there that comes close with as few words), so it's a defensive label; as such it's preferable for me to use it without adjectives. I do not agree that if an anarchist isn't also a syndicalist or a communist or a feminist, then that person can't be an anarchist anymore. Such a position is dogmatic and sectarian, and I

find it incompatible with anti-authoritarian principles. I disagree with the analyses of most hyphenated anarchists, but that doesn't mean that they aren't anarchists anymore—just that I usually can't work with them on long-term common projects.

A few words on contradiction: As radicals, revolutionaries, antiauthoritarians, and anarchists we have a vision of a world substantially different than the one in which we live currently. Our desires are in fundamental conflict with the realities of Euro-American industrial capitalism. We live in contradiction each and every time we try to act on them;

Continued on page 66

Boycott Dangerous Words



**ANARCHISTS
UNITED
FOR
LEFTIST
MORALISM**

Boycott Dangerous Words!

Aspecter is haunting the anarchist movement. Appearing everywhere we least expect them, **dangerous words** threaten the stability, persistence and impotence of all the ideologies of traditional left anarchism. Anarchists unite! Rally with us to defeat this menace and to defend the rapidly vanishing integrity of leftism.

Beware the appearance of all publications questioning the necessity of **work, technology, and industrial production**. In order to maintain society as we know it, these are all obviously essential institutions, and no serious left anarchist will ever question them. Did Bakunin ever question the need for production? Did Kropotkin ever advocate running naked and free? Did Comrade Bookchin ever approve of communal pleasure or the **realization of desire**? Of course not! All serious left anarchists recognize that our first responsibility is to shoulder the burden of production: to keep the factories churning out commodities, to keep people in their mandatory roles of worker, citizen and consumer. Only with the preservation of capitalist categories and institutions can we hope to seize the reins of production and put them at the service of the proletariat, of free municipalities, and thus of the people itself.

Beware all notions of **egoism, expansive individuality, radical subjectivity** and the **liberation of desire**. These notions are only promulgated in order to sap the will of devoted leftists and naive citizens alike, turning them away from the **real** struggles. Our struggles are selfless. They require self-discipline, reliance on the guidance of correct ideology, the fulfillment of our moral duties, and the suppression of any desires for immediate enjoyment or possession of our world. **Real** struggles require **real** organizations—organizations with bylaws, mandated delegates and artfully constructed self-images. **Real** struggles help people fight back! They help workers build unions to achieve higher wages and better working conditions. They help municipalities take control of local public utilities and build sewage wetlands. They support the glamour of desperate people engaged in armed conflict in **other** lands.

But beware of all self-proclaimed anarchists who have encouraged open revolt or who have had the bad taste to take up arms in the U.S. itself. Disavow any knowledge of Ted Kaczynski. Belittle his sanity.

Distance true anarchism from anyone stupid enough to engage in attacks which might encourage repressive forces to target anarchists. We must strive to live in peaceful coexistence with cops, journalists, judges, and academics. And we certainly mustn't challenge any of the essential shibboleths of industrial civilization.

Remember that only with the leftist reformation of capitalism, only with the evolution of society to a higher stage of civilization will we at long last win the struggle and march into the promised land of Progress, Science for the People, and true ideological Enlightenment. Notions of **abandoning civilization, of going native, of refusing all compulsory roles, moralities and civilized restraints** are the most dangerous of all. Those who criticize both left and right, and all those who refuse to identify with traditional factions must disappear.

Refuse to read dangerous words!

Boycott all dangerous texts!

Boycott Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed

Boycott Alternative Press Review

Boycott Bob Black's Anarchy After Leftism

Boycott John Zerzan's Future Primitive

Discipline yourself! Keep your passions in check! Don't break ranks! Remain rational at all times. Wait for further guidance from your local anarchist organization. And whatever you do...don't EVER think for yourself!

This text and the graphic on the previous page originally appeared in leaflet and poster form at the 1998 San Francisco Anarchist Book Fair. Due to lack of space, they were unable to appear in the last two issues of *Anarchy*.

when we acquiesce to the dominant paradigm, we reinforce the mechanisms of our own (and other people's) oppression. How we deal with these contradictions is very personal, often mysterious. Some people drink or do drugs, some people sell-out, some become bitter, some become outlaws, some become reclusive, some remain philosophically opposed to government while in reality completely accommodating to it. Each person who desires radical social change will create a line (or lines) that they will not cross; a personal

barrier to the continual conflicts and contradictions inherent in having such a vision. Some people refuse to pay taxes, some refuse to vote, some refuse to drive automobiles or ride in buses, some refuse to watch TV or use computers, some refuse to pay rent or buy food, some refuse to consume or use animal products. The point is that each of us has a refusal, a way of coping with our contradictions, and it's up to each of us individually to maintain and/or adjust our lines of refusal. This is not a moral issue: it is better to avoid judging anarchists by the lines they create, since chances are that those lines will be vastly different for each anarchist.

For example, I don't vote—for representatives or for municipal or state ballot measures or propositions but I know anarchists who do, even though it goes against the traditional anti-electoral anarchist position. It is fundamentally contradictory and incompatible with anarchist theory for any anarchist to vote for representatives, but I take a more generous position concerning propositions. I won't kick a proposition voter out of the anarchy club automatically,



while the representative voter I will. I question the anarchic validity of voting in general, and I question the relevance of voting for a proposition that was chosen by legislators, but I refuse to accept the validity or relevance—or *sense*—of voting for a representative. I can listen to anarcho-voters explain why voting for or against a particular proposition will help make our lives more bearable, and I will happily refute those arguments, but there's no way that I will entertain the possibility of having a politician represent me or any person who truly desires the abolition of capitalism and the state. Does this mean that I think the voter is a bad person? No. Does this mean that I think the voter is a bad anarchist? Yes. Does this mean that I think the person who votes for a representative is a bad anarchist? No—that person is no longer an anarchist at all, good or bad. This is not a moral or ideological position; it's a position based on common understandings of a definition of anarchist theory and practice.

There is no such thing as "anti-techism" and there is no such discourse called "anti-tech." This is a made-up term

that is used to dismiss anyone who has a critique of technological society. The reasons that there's no such thing as being "anti-tech" is that people have a difficult time agreeing on what "tech" is. Does being "anti-tech" mean that the anti-techist will never use a plastic toothbrush? Must s/he rely on a chewing stick for dental hygiene? But getting and preparing the stick requires "technology," so I guess the chewing stick is out, just like the plastic toothbrush. This is transparently absurd. I have a critique of automobiles, which includes a critique of the petrochemical industry as well as that needed for the construction and maintenance of roads/highways. I dislike the impact these technologies have on the natural world in terms of toxic waste, air pollution, and all the other things that are involved in maintaining the infrastructure of automobile technology. Does this mean that I am no longer allowed to drive a car or ride in a bus? Must I only use bicycles? Bicycles require the same roads that cars do, and the same metal and rubber that are used in the manufacture of automobiles, so bikes are out too. What about

riding horses? Must I rely only on my feet for transportation? Can you see how stupid this argument can get? And what does any of this have to do with anarchist theory and practice? There's nothing inherently anarchist in being "anti-tech"; you don't have to be one to be the other.

Pointing out the contradictions inherent in the life of a person who has a discourse critical of technology is facile; we live in a technological—and technologically advanced—society, and every time we use the phone or flush the toilet we are using "technology,"

thereby reinforcing the need for that technology. Most "anti-tech" people know this already. This statement is faulty: "...it seems like a belying contradiction that they would in any way use technology to propagate anti-tech views—that is by their logic." This is your logic at work, not theirs.

I have had a regular correspondence with Zerzan for a number of years, and when the media started getting interested in him in relation to the "Unabomber" spectacle, he and I shared many thoughts on the use of the media to get an anarchist/anti-civilization message across. He had invitations for interviews in papers, TV, and radio. Since any medium whose owners are anti-anarchist will try to portray us in the most unfavorable light possible, my suggestion was that radio talk-shows would probably be the best choice because of them being live—that way the editor/owner can't as easily distort your position and make you look like an idiot. The only way they can make you stop talking is to cut you off, proving that they are not the bastions of free speech that they pretend to be. I think this actually happened

to John once. Radio also provides the possibility of dialog, which is impossible on TV. When Free Radio Berkeley existed, I hosted two shows. Much of the time there were no callers to the station who wanted their comments or questions discussed, but occasionally there was the chance to have a real exchange of ideas on the air. This was one of the best parts for me. Your insistence on TV and radio being equivalent technologies, the distinction between them being "entirely arbitrary," is simplistic and ignores their distinct environmental and physiological impacts.

A distinction between tools and technology needs to be recognized in any discourse about "technology." Much of the time technophiles (those who see technology as inherently progressive or neutral) deliberately confuse the distinction between tools and technology in order to undermine the impact of the critique of technology. Very few (if any) of the "anti-tech" crowd advocate a return to the Stone Age, yet technophiles—from Bookchin to LaRouche—constantly portray "primitivists" as wanting exactly that.

A few working definitions:

A **tool** is any object that can be utilized for a specific function.

Technology is the ideological framework that creates the need

for the tool; the mode(s) of production needed to manufacture the tool, and the justifications for using that tool as opposed to a different one.

Let's return to the plastic toothbrush. The northern California Indians (as well as many others no doubt) used oak twigs. The tannins in the bark of oaks are astringent, tightening the gums around the teeth. (Having a diet free of processed sugars and overcooked food is also helpful for maintaining dental health.) Modern Euro-Americans have an obsession with physical beauty that centers on the teeth—the whiter the better. The astringent tannins in oak twigs also stain the teeth. So there are now toothpastes that have bleaching agents and varying degrees of abrasiveness. We use toothbrushes to scour out teeth, often removing the outer protective layer. Dentists tell us that this is a good thing, and they get lots of samples from companies that manufacture dental hygiene products. Plus these same companies fund dental schools, reinforcing the need for these products by influencing the kind of education these budding professionals get. So the tool is the toothbrush; the technology involves medical dentistry (which includes dental schools, the educational infrastructure that gets funding from the manufacturers

of dental hygiene products, the ideology of pharmaceuticals and surgery as the only legitimate healing strategies, etc.), the cult of beauty that demands white choppers, the petrochemical industry (which produces the hard plastic for the body of the toothbrush, the synthetic fibers for the bristles, the chemical compounds for the toothpaste), the factory system that mass-produces the toothbrushes, the transportation industry that distributes these tools to all parts of the world where the dominant ideological system exists that created the need for the tool in the first place. My critique of this technology is independent of my choice to clean my teeth with toothpaste or a twig. The technology of the chewing stick is dependent on different things than the toothbrush: an ecosystem that sustains oak trees, some form of cutting tool (which requires its own technology—unless you just want to snap the twigs off the tree), and the perspective that justifies the existence of strong teeth. It is a simpler technology, but a technology nonetheless.

If I didn't have this critique would I somehow be off the hook when it comes to reinforcing the mechanisms of my own (and others') oppression? Does not examining these things mean that I am no longer responsible for reinforcing the ideological justifications for

them?

The absurdity of equating "a form of technology" with "another form of technology" should now be clear. The uselessness of using the term "anti-tech" should also be clear, since there is no one thing called "technology." One can have a critique of particular technologies, or the way a particular tool is used in industrial capitalism, or the ideological justifications for the creation and use of a particular tool. Although the critique of industrial capitalism and an anarchist analysis can be mutually reinforcing, there is nothing inherently anarchist about having a critique of technological society. Just because there are some anarchists who like large-scale industry and complex technologies doesn't mean that they aren't anarchists anymore—just that they are committed to an outdated and discredited worldview.

I hope that this rant has been helpful.

All the best,
Lawrence
Berkeley, CA

Prohibit technology?

Dear *Anarchy*,

I would like to respond to some of the letters in #47.

Re: Sally Jones, the point is not that technology is "evil" ...that would be moralistic, trying to categorize the world into



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two simplistic boxes, "good" or "bad." The question is—is the project of technology and the entire *infrastructure* it implies, and therefore the implied *social relations* of that compatible with my desires? Does the production of technology create the sort of world I want? You ask—"How is it to be prohibited?" Thru direct action. For example, a great deal of technology is dependent on mining for raw materials. Mining completely degrades natural areas, kills people & wildlife by poisoning them. In a more anarchistic situation I can see local people who desire a wild world chasing out individuals trying to devastate a natural area, & sabotaging any machine they use to do so. Does this interfere with the miner's "rights"? Rights? What rights? Who granted them? God? State? Industrially-conditioned masses?

Re: "Symbolic Culture," i.e. the entire system of substitutes for direct, unmediated bodily contact & satisfaction. Symbols are the first currency in an economy that is supposed to replace real satisfaction. As such, it could be argued it is behind all the other scams.

Re: "Animal Loving," Humans are animals! And I'm not "anti-tech." I am against modes of life that subordinate the earth & its free-loving creatures. Hey, if you can figure out a way to create compact disc players out of thin air without maquiladora labor, silicon chip toxic waste, plastic sludge, copper mining, etc., etc., all the more power to you. I'm not

against innovations & I'm not against useful gadgets. I just prefer they not be based upon widescale ecoslavery.

Re: Bob Lawblaw's critique of mysticism in "The Angry Little Man," many mystical systems are means of communicating about trance, possessions & other ecstatic phenomena, without which an intense, embodied life is to me unthinkable. I am sick of "brain dead moronic atheists imposing their antireligion (a religion itself in a thoughtless way on those seeking to clarify and extend the exceptional & primal part of their experience. I share a con-

tempt for "spiritualities" which are ideological, authoritarian, and based upon denial of concrete, lived experience. But there are many who traverse an agnostic realm, neither theist nor atheist, learning from "spiritual" or mystical traditions about ecstatic excursions.

Re: The question of violence, I think every individual must decide that for themselves, as it is an ethical/tactical choice. It does seem as if some system of holding elites accountable for their damage is logical, but it will be up to each individual or team of individuals to figure out creative ways of "inventing

positive project of *surpassing & overcoming* obstacles. I'd like to emphasize this positive, creative aspect of surpassing & supercession as a warning against knee-jerk "critique-aholism," which often amounts to the speaker taking pot shots at everyone else's style & tactics while leaving their own unquestioned. This can degenerate into a type of egocentric moralism, where the criteria of critique are ideological masks covering an attempt to establish that "I am better than everyone else." I would submit that habitual contempt is as much a character armor as anything else. It is

accountability." Interference with construction sites of any sort, but especially those constructing prisons, factories, or mining operations also seems appropriate, whether violent or nonviolent, although anonymous sabotage seems perhaps the most accessible & least risky.

Re: Risk. Again, everyone must gauge the levels and types of risks they are willing to take. While we should applaud & give solidarity to the courageous, I think we should avoid the machoism of denigrating those who are not yet so encouraged. This shouldn't be about separating the boys from the sissies, or I might as well return to the school playground....

If people don't want to face prison, I don't blame 'em! It's the ultimate concrete negation of the freedom I cherish! I think it's logical to recommend actions where the gains are proportional to the risks.

I like to think of liberation as a posi-

WAR IS STARTED!

IF YOU WANT IT

Mr. Fish

certainly necessary to discover effective tactics for creating the lives we want, and to this end, surpassing distracting or trapping ideologies. But we must be careful not to impose one style onto others. In this regard, it is obvious that central infrastructures of domination, including industry, distribution, & repressive apparatuses must become major targets of dissent and contestation in order for us to reclaim our lives, but there is room for liberation everywhere and we can all do our part on separate fronts.

I would like to raise the issue: Is a *socially-liberational therapy* possible or is therapy inherently anti-liberational and anti-revolutionary? Are there ways of subverting therapeutic practices to make them more challenging? I would argue there are, but I am interested in coherent arguments by those who think otherwise. No straw men, please. We all hate those therapists who recommend social conformity. What of the "radical" therapists, the work of Laing & Cooper, Schizoanalysis, & its relation to our present configuration of forces?

Continuing to enjoy your challenging provocations,

(un) leash
San Francisco, CA
unleesh@aol.com

Bombs

One bomb is an act of terrorism, a thousand bombs is a revolution.

A Comrade
Ft. Worth, TX

Anarchist café

Hello,

Through a person who calls himself Chuck I have been given your address. The reason



Before the Revolution: Alaan DeVuyst

why is because he suggested you might be interested to hear about how Belgian anarchists treated me as an artist. The scene: Gallery "Dolle Mol" in de Spooormakersstraat, in Brussels.

I had thought that those people who ran the gallery and the brown café on the ground floor would be at least open minded more so than the average fancy art gallery around the corner. I had artwork, about 9 pieces depicting sexual intercourse between adults and kids and some were painted with a tongue in the cheek, so to speak. The paintings were made over a collage of black and white photographs of children's faces—boys—and referred to sex between boys at school in class or depicted other scenes like blowjobs or penetration. All in very vivid colours. Some compared my stuff to Robert Mapplethorpe's way of depicting or use of photography. I had

the bad luck that at that particular time there was just a retrospective going on about Robert's work. So comparison was easy. Anyway, the so-liberal thinking anarchists refused even to come and have a look upstairs and comments from the café crowd were: "how awful," "poor kids." "It's plain kiddie porn." I was scorned and such. Two years later they were exhibited in huge market hall with 100 other artists' works. A commission of Flemish culture saw my work and called it very good, qualitative work. No hassle, no scandal, no police. Now, unfortunately, in the aftermath of our Marc Dutroux story, art galleries don't dare to show this work any longer.

Unfortunately I have not yet scanned in those works and they are not available on the net. You can see other work of mine recently created in India. Some depict the hangings of little Negro boys in Brazil.

Just go to: www.artworld.net/devuyst and/or www.shopart.com/devuyst/werke.html

Hope to hear from you soon.

Alann DeVuyst
weree@yahoo.com

Glorification of violence

Dear Jason,

Reading your latest issue. However, really now, enough of the glorification of violence and "Stand up for Ted" insanity. Killing innocent people to make a point is barbarism and just what Civilization encourages us in our futility to consider. We are better than that. Achieving anarchy is a difficult process and such "short cuts" belie the painstaking work that is involved. Plus, it is morally repugnant and bestial as it hurts the victims and their families and friends. Our friend Zerzan has too much good to say that

it will be frittered away with this impotent distraction, I fear.

Otherwise, good work and Greetings!

Attilio Catanzano

Jason responds:

Violence is necessary

Anarchy magazine does not "glorify" violence—unlike most of the mainstream media North Americans view every day. But writers for this magazine do acknowledge that violence is a strategic and tactical necessity for any movement which wishes to do anything beyond expressing a relatively impotent dissatisfaction with dominant social and economic forces.

Those who proclaim in all naivete that "violence never works," or that "violence is always counter-productive," or that "violence is always authoritarian" have already accepted social defeat. Their goal is too often only to prove their (illusory) moral superiority, while implicitly accepting the reign of

5TH ANNUAL BAY AREA ANARCHIST BOOK FAIR



APRIL 15TH, 2000. 10AM-6PM
SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY FAIR BUILDING
9TH AVE & LINCOLN WAY
GOLDEN GATE PARK

Bound Together Books is happy to present the San Francisco Bay Area Anarchist Book fair. On April 15, 2000 at the San Francisco Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park anarchist publishers, distributors, and activist groups will come together to celebrate the bookfair's fifth anniversary.

In past years we have hosted anarchist groups from all over the world to exchange ideas, help build an international radical community, and sell literature. Every year the book fair showcases installations by Art & Revolution, an anti-authoritarian art exhibition, and a cafe serving delicious vegan & vegetarian food. Previous speakers have included Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Jello Biafra, John Zerzan, Susie Bright, and the Biotic Baking Brigade. As the book fair has grown over the years, the attendance has reached over 3,000 people.

This year Utah Phillips and Christian Parenti have volunteered to speak and others will soon be confirmed. In the cafe Whispered Media, a local video collective, will present a series of excellent works documenting the Bay Area's recent radical activity.

those current powers which are all-too-willing to imprison, murder and massacre those who resist their oppression.

This magazine stands in support for all anti-authoritarian prisoners, whether or not we agree with their strategies, tactics and theories. They have generally fought to the best of their abilities. They may not have made the best choices, but they have made difficult choices to resist capital and state and they are paying with their lives. We do not condemn them for that.

I choose not to use lethal violence whenever it can be avoided. And I certainly recommend that full consideration be given to all other alternatives by anyone who feels it may be necessary. Most violence will seem arbitrary and unjustified to those who suffer its consequences. But certainly not everyone attacked by FC was "innocent," either.

The imposition of the present social order is founded on the practice of mass violence by the police and armed forces at all levels and, even more, on the threat of insane levels of mass violence aimed at the general population should it take it's potential for social freedom seriously. It is this mass violence threatened and delivered every day with which anarchists should be most concerned.

Double standard

Dear AJODA,

You publish a letter by Donald Rooum, the defender of genetically modified crops, claiming that *Green Anarchist* only comes out twice a year. As Rooum well knows, *Green Anarchist* comes out four times a year. As GA is sold in Rooum's *Freedom* book shop, Monsanto's mouthpiece and apologist is without excuse.

Why does Rooum tell these lies? This is the person who goes round London saying, "*Green Anarchist* is anarchist only in name."

If you read GA 54-55 page 17 (Spring 1999) you'll see how Rooum censored the debate ha ha ha about genetics and Primitivism, suppressing letters which contradicted his line, falsifying what Primitivism is, pretending it was an amalgam of Prince

Charles, Lysenkoists and mystical mumbo jumboists.

As with previous so-called "debates" in *Freedom* where *Freedom* printed Neoist lies against GA, that we were eco-Malthusians and "stupid," and then systematically refused to print our responses to these falsehoods, Donald Room makes use of a double standard. People slandered by *Freedom* do not have the right of reply, and so it is hypocritical of him to respond to criticism of *Freedom* in your magazine.

A. Ridley
Oxford, England

Toppling Chomsky

Dear *Anarchy*,

Ron Leighton, Jeff Stein, and John Beldan all take issue with Zerzan's short piece on Noam Chomsky that questions the MIT academic's perspective as compatible, or even terribly relevant, to the realization of anarchy. Perhaps it would be a learning experience to hear Chomsky's own take on some of the perspectives within contemporary anarchism.

In Issue #20 of *Social Anarchism* (www.nothingness.org), John Moore makes this comment in his interesting essay "Prophets of the New World: Noam Chomsky, Murray Bookchin, and Fredy Perlman."

"From this basis, Perlman's

conception of freedom becomes more expansive and anarchic than those of his peers, and conditions his perspective on issues like technology and the social patterns of a functioning anarchy. Chomsky's proud declaration that during the Spanish Revolution 'production continued effectively' becomes a profound indictment, and an indication that liberation has not been achieved. In an authentic anarchy, factories would be closed or totally reconstituted, technological production would be abandoned or radically transformed. What truly liberated worker would consent to return to the factory and resume the same routine as before the revolution, even if the premises are now under 'workers' control?"

This was Noam Chomsky's response in the same issue.

"That doesn't change the fact that going back to such a state would mean instant mass genocide on an unimaginable scale; similarly, someone who finds it a 'profound indictment' to say that production continued is thereby signalling that he/she thinks that several billion people should drop dead at once, even if the author doesn't understand that."

Chomsky's statement perhaps reflects an authoritarian mindset, even if he doesn't understand that, and I challenge

him to present any evidence whatsoever for his assertion. No one would forego (or force you to forego) industry or agriculture if it were the source of life's sustenance, but we certainly can evaluate the labor we perform in any capacity relative to its real importance to our existence, and strive to eliminate as much of it as possible. That is what Moore was talking about, as he makes pretty clear. What relation does a reevaluation and reduction of factory production have to do with "several billion people" dropping dead at once?

I'm curious if ecologists and environmentalists "signal" by their values that they "think several billion people should drop dead at once." Do critics of nuclear power plants think that the people employed and serviced by those plants "should drop dead at once?" Do critics of the defense industry or biotech industry think that all their employees "should drop dead at once?" Your guess is as good as mine. Perhaps Chomsky can enlighten us all as to what we really think.

I personally can't recall even Murray Bookchin smearing any of us so contemptuously. Bookchin sees us as irresponsible and ineffectual heirs to a great tradition, and his peevish diatribes against us have earned him a well-deserved drubbing by

Bob Black, David Watson, Lawrence Jarach, Paul Z. Simons, Laure Akai, and others. Chomsky sees us as wanting genocide, just too clueless to realize it.

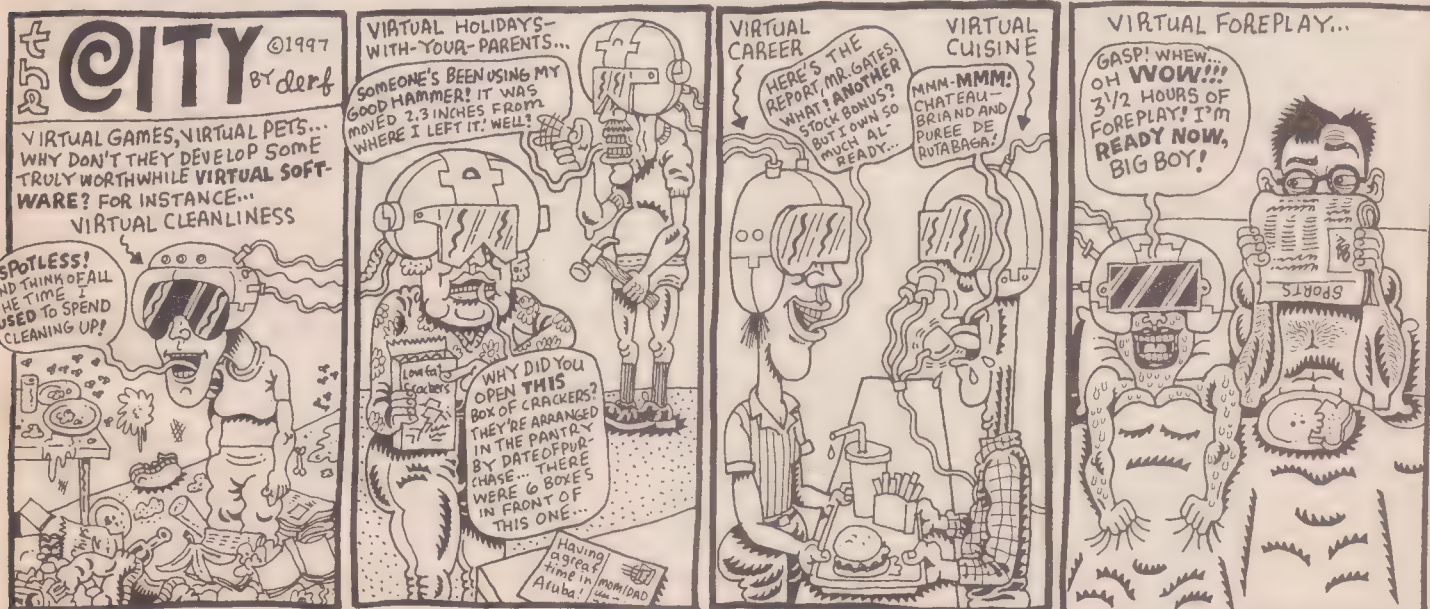
Whatever the motives for Chomsky's flawed perspective, it says something about his level of analysis on a subject we all know something about. Is it out of line to suggest that his inaccuracy on this topic opens all of his writings to a more intense scrutiny than they have hitherto received by anarchists?

Bob Black's *Anarchy After Leftism* was not the culmination of an anarchist critique of leftism, merely a high-point in a process which has barely begun. Zerzan's "Who is Chomsky?" is not the last word in a critique of Chomsky and others of his ilk, but merely a beginning. The cathedral is bare, and the icons are waiting to be toppled.

John Filiss
Port Jervis, NY
jfiliss@bestweb.net

Different Types of Violence

I think we need to clarify what we mean by "violence," in regards to our exchange in the last issue. Violence can be anything from random acts of terror at one extreme (such as setting off bombs in public



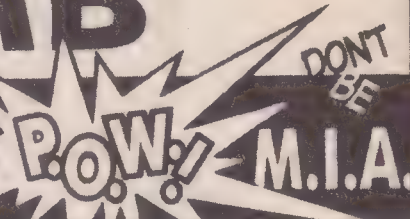
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CIVILIZATION IS A BOMB



TED KACZYNSKI

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places with the intention of killing or injuring whoever happens to be passing by), to violence used in self-defense to repel an unprovoked attack, at the other. It's one thing to send letter bombs to people you disagree with, as in the case of the Unabomber, and another to engage in armed struggle against the Nazis when they were eliminating their opponents and committing genocide. Between these extremes are the cases of Guatemala and El Salvador, where vanguardist, Leninist groups launched a just but hopeless armed struggle against these governments, resulting in the massacre of the leftist political opposition, and other, even remotely associated, civilians by the military. Was the government intentionally provoked, in hopes of increasing the militancy of the people? If so, the results were disastrous. It is generally unwise to pick a fight from a position of weakness.

The use of violence, therefore, is not only an ethical question, but a strategic question as well. In a given situation you may be justified in using violence, but it may not be the best choice to achieve your long term objectives. In general, I would say it is unethical to use violence to impose your will on someone else, even if you feel you are serving a just cause, and ethical to use it to repel violent aggression, but that's just my personal rule of thumb. I'm not a pacifist, but clearly your threshold for the use of vio-

lence is much lower than mine. In my opinion the use of violence in the U.S. by anarchists today is neither ethical, nor strategically wise. We are not living under martial law, activists are not being "disappeared," and we are allowed to speak, publish, organize and gather without serious police harassment (although the recent repression of a radical conference in Boca Raton, Florida is troubling). Despite our extremely limited resources, we are able to spread our ideas and attempt to win the public over to our point of view with a minimum amount of repression. We can also discreetly practice our beliefs among ourselves, at least to some extent; our lack of organization and consensus prevents this more than government repression. If we do succeed in someday convincing most people that liberty, equality and cooperation are superior to authority, inequality and competition, then the amount of violence necessary to topple an unpopular system would likely be minimal. But if the public's perception of anarchists is that we are mad bombers, shirkers, criminals and child molesters, we will never achieve that level of popular support.

Finally, on the question of whether most anarchists, historically, have supported or opposed the use of terror, I would say it is clear that the terrorists were a tiny minority, made infamous by the bourgeois press. Most of the "leading thinkers" were revolutionaries,

but few were terrorists, and fewer still believed in random acts of terror. Octave Mirbeau wrote of a terror bombing in Paris, "A mortal enemy of anarchy could have acted no better than this Emile Henry when he threw his inexplicable bomb into the midst of peaceful and anonymous persons come to a cafe to drink a glass of beer before going home to bed." The anarchist conception of revolution was a mass, popular rising against an unpopular regime, not a guerilla war against an unconvinced society. The goal was a well organized confederation of autonomous, egalitarian cooperatives and unions, where order would be achieved through a cooperative spirit, self-discipline and enlightened self-interest. They did not advocate simple destruction, and the creation of a vacuum of social chaos and banditry, although the bourgeois press finds this accusation very useful politically.

Ed Stamm
PO Box 1402
Lawrence KS 66044-8402

Jason responds again One man's violence is another man's terror

It's amazing to see the swiftness with which you have completely changed the meaning of your diatribe in the last issue against violence with a half-way reasoned argument against terror in this one.

However, rather than my "threshold for the use of violence" being "lower" than yours, as you

suggest, I would imagine that it is my abhorrence for the mass violence imposed upon the world by capital and state which is more acute than yours.

We can test this by asking ourselves what nation-state in the world today is the most similar in its policies around the world to the Nazi Germany you mention as being worthy of violent attack "when they were eliminating their opponents and committing genocide"?

Could it be any other than the US state? What other contemporary state has (both clandestinely and openly) supported and prosecuted more genocidal campaigns in the last, say, fifty years? What other state has succeeded in eliminating its (and its client states') opponents through the mass use of torture, death squads, and international terror in more areas of the world than the US?

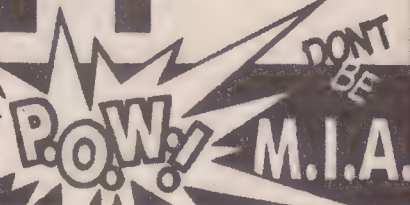
Clearly, the US has no current peer among other nations. The Indonesian devastation in East Timor was funded, approved and armed by the US, following a previous bloodbath when over half a million Indonesians were murdered after the CIA-instigated coup which brought Suharto to power. The US military invaded Vietnam and bombed it "back to the stone age," inflicting millions of casualties in order to make an example of that country's refusal to submit to United States dictates. The US mercilessly bombed the tiny country of Cambodia in a "secret" war to the point where mass starvation and complete economic breakdown was achieved, only to blame

JUSTICE IS GUILTY



TED KACZYNSKI

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the results of the US bombing on the Khmer Rouge, which itself was at the same time still supported by US policy! The US, with the largest and most powerful air force of any nation, is primarily responsible for the most deadly and massive bombing campaigns against civilian targets the world has ever witnessed (in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Panama, Iraq, Yugoslavia, etc.). The US (along with its client-state, Israeli allies) has developed the encouragement, organization and funding of death squads to a science in El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Bolivia, Columbia, Angola, Sudan and other South and Central American and African nations.

So, by your own logic, if the Unabomber had sent letter bombs to academics, engineers and apologists for the technological "advances" of the Third Reich, he might have had some legitimacy (though certainly not if you had been a German citizen in Nazi Germany warning your fellow citizens not to upset the boat as long as the authorities tolerated your (ineffectual) activities).

But you're not a German under Nazism. You're a U.S. citizen under a regime just as deadly, much more powerful, and infinitely more threatening to not just humanity, but to the survival of thousands of entire plant and animal species now on the road to disappearance due to the economic, military and political policies of this nation-state.

Yet, under these circumstances, what do you feel compelled to do? Undermine the war machine? Sabotage industrial expansion? Ex-

pose the misery of work and consumption? No, these are not worthy of your efforts. You must stand foursquare and valiantly against an imprisoned rebel who has already had the weight of the FBI and the criminal (in)justice system brought to bear against him in one of the most extensive and expensive investigations in history. You must misrepresent his actions, falsify their context and condemn him more loudly than you condemn those who continue to successfully execute ever more genocidal wars, ever more ecological destruction and ever more massive amounts of human misery.

There's a certain logic to your stance, since, after all, there are relatively low levels of lethal violence aimed at the more privileged, educated white citizens of this country—as long as they keep in line and don't cause any real problems for the business-as-usual of the military-industrial-cybernetic-political-media machine destroying the earth. And there's little point to calling the mass violence of the state down on our heads if we can avoid it. But I certainly do question the priorities of your critique.

Arrogant & dismissive

Dear Editor,

I've just read Ron Leighton's letter in your Spring/Summer issue responding to John Zerzan's "Who is Chomsky?" essay, and Zerzan's arrogant and dismissive reply. Zerzan represents perfectly what might be called "clubby" anarchism, the tendency to regard this strain of thought as an exclusive

club from which the self-appointed one enjoys the right to banish others arbitrarily (his dismissal of Pop Art in another article in the same issue is similarly snobbish).

Zerzan's glee at playing inquisitor so shows through. So do the gaps in his knowledge of anarchist history. Because Chomsky is not alone: ever since the term took on something like its current meaning, leading anarchists have sided, temporarily, with government bodies in order to fight groups they regarded as the greater of the two evils. In fact, those who haven't may be the exception to the rule. Take Kropotkin, who appalled many of his old comrades after World War I broke out by declaring his support for the Entente even though tsarist Russia was a member, while Lenin, the authoritarian Marxist, took the more "correct" stand and opposed the war. Certainly, at this key historical juncture, I think most of us would say Lenin was right and Kropotkin was wrong.

But see what happened later: Kropotkin left his comfortable retirement to return to Russia to work for the revolution and, when he died, inspire the last major outpouring of support for anarchism that country ever saw. Lenin, meanwhile, became the dictator who hijacked the revolution. Does Zerzan think Kropotkin was "not an anarchist"?

I agree that over time, it's become clear that working with governments—even temporary-

ly—is a vast mistake. This is particularly true today, when Washington is abandoning its commitment to the New Deal-era social welfare programs that were supposed to make capitalism minimally livable and Soviet-era apparatchiks morph into capitalists when this seems like the way to further their interests. Governments help certain groups of workers when it's politically expedient to do so—like, for instance, when they are fighting a Cold War—but not otherwise.

But ideological purity is not a very good litmus test when trying to predict who will do more in the long run to further the cause of personal liberation and non-statist, non-capitalist community building. For a better standard, look at what the person in question says about the kind of society she wants to see, and how to get there—not at her particular views on how to grapple with one or another issue of the moment. By this test, it's Kropotkin over Lenin. And by this test, too, Chomsky has plainly—and consistently—situated himself as an anarcho-syndicalist disciple of Rudolf Rocker, not as a "liberal."

The deeper issue that Leighton raises in his letter—and which Zerzan completely ducks—is the following: What constitutes "significant" change? And should we be willing to support efforts for change within the present system that may make a big difference in the lives of oppressed and working people while at the same time



Noam Chomsky: Brand photo.

working on other fronts toward a truly stateless, non-econocentric society? Is this possible, or is it always a blind alley? It's easy for a clubby anarchist like Zerzan to ridicule Leighton's earnest gropings in this muddy terrain, but it's been around a long time and is worthy of the tough, extended discussion it almost never gets.

How about a serious dialogue in *Anarchy*?

Sincerely,
Eric Laursen
415 W55th Street, #3A
New York NY 10019
(212)315-1671
elaursen@marakon.com

John Zerzan replies: Wasted space

Do you know why Chomsky has for decades touted completely non-anarchist publications like *In These Times*, *Z*, and the *Nation*, and has never mentioned our anti-authoritarian ones (e.g. *Anarchy*, *Fifth Estate*)? Obviously, it is relat-

ed to the fact that he is so popular with liberals and leftists; he gives them no perspective (re: anarchy) that would challenge these non-radicals.

This, I'm afraid, is as good a way to illustrate why I won't waste pages to point out what is so easily grasped. To debate the ways of Chomsky you will probably need to look in the pages of a much tamer periodical than *Anarchy*.

To spend almost a full page charging me with being "clubby" compounds, in my opinion, the amount of space already wasted on this topic. Kinda comes down to which club one belongs to, eh?

Chomsky's flawed perspective

Dear *Anarchy*,

Ron Leighton, Jeff Stein, and John Beldon all take issue with Zerzan's short piece on Noam Chomsky that questions the MIT academic's perspective as compatible, or even terribly relevant, to the realization of

anarchy. Perhaps it would be a learning experience to hear Chomsky's own take on some of the perspectives within contemporary anarchism.

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"From this basis, Perlman's conception of freedom becomes more expansive and anarchic than those of his peers, and conditions his perspective on issues like technology and the social patterns of a functioning anarchy. Chomsky's proud declaration that during the Spanish Revolution 'production continued effectively' becomes a profound indictment, and an indication that liberation has not been achieved. In an authentic anarchy, factories would be closed or totally reconstituted, technological production would be abandoned or radically trans-

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This was Noam Chomsky's response in the same issue.

"That doesn't change the fact that going back to such a state would mean instant mass genocide on an unimaginable scale; similarly, someone who finds it a 'profound indictment' to say that production continued is thereby signalling that he/she thinks that several billion people should drop dead at once, even if the author doesn't understand that."

Chomsky's statement perhaps reflects an authoritarian mindset, even if he doesn't understand that, and I challenge him to present any evidence whatsoever for his assertion. No one would forego (or force you to forego) industry or agriculture if it were the source of life's sustenance, but we certainly can evaluate the labor we perform in any capacity relative to its real importance to our existence, and strive to eliminate as much of it as possible. That is what Moore was talking about, as he makes pretty clear. What relation does a reevaluation and reduction of factory production have to do with "several billion people" dropping dead at once?

I'm curious if ecologists and environmentalists "signal" by their values that they "think several billion people should drop dead at once." Do critics of nuclear power plants think that the people employed and serviced by those plants "should drop dead at once?" Do critics of the defense industry or biotech industry think that all their employees "should drop dead at once?" Your guess is as good as mine. Perhaps Chomsky can enlighten us all as to what we really think.

I personally can't recall even Murray Bookchin smearing any of us so contemptuously. Bookchin sees us as irresponsible and ineffectual heirs to a great tradition, and his peevish diatribes against us have earned him a well-deserved drubbing by Bob Black, David Watson, Lawrence

Jarach, Paul Z. Simons, Laure Akai, and others. Chomsky sees us as wanting genocide, just too clueless to realize it.

Whatever the motives for Chomsky's flawed perspective, it says something about his level of analysis on a subject we all know something about. Is it out of line to suggest that his inaccuracy on this topic opens all of his writings to a more intense scrutiny than they have hitherto received by anarchists?

Bob Black's *Anarchy After Leftism* was not the culmination of an anarchist critique of leftism, merely a high-point in a process which has barely begun. Zerzan's "Who is Chomsky?" is not the last word in a critique of Chomsky and others of his ilk, but merely a beginning. The cathedral is bare, and the icons are waiting to be toppled.

John Filiss
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Excessively negative

I found Rob Los Ricos' review of *Passionate and Dangerous: Interviews with Midwestern Anarchists and Anti-authoritarians* to be excessively negative and making broad inferences that the interviews did not support. Unlike Los Ricos, I see no interviews where people are "burnt out," "hopeless," or "disillusioned about making changes in the dominant society." This review was so off-base that one letter to *Passionate and Dangerous* (after reading the review) expressed disappointment that I interviewed so many anarchists who were "tired" and had "given up." After I sent a copy of *P and D* to this letter writer (who actually hadn't read *P and D* yet), he complimented the magazine and admitted that the review was inaccurate. I certainly appreciate the prominent placement the review received in the last issue of *Anarchy*, but the quality of the review was of the kind of gossip and over-generalization that you normally find restricted to the *Anarchy* letters section. If Rob Los Ricos thinks the anarchists in *P and D* are hopeless or caged, I would be very interested to hear what he does on a day-to-day basis to

achieve a revolutionary society.

I will describe *Passionate and Dangerous* emphasizing what I see in the interviews. *Passionate and Dangerous* is 70 pages of interviews with 30 anarchists throughout the midwest. Packed full of graphics and photos, *P and D* emphasizes *action* and differing approaches to change. From community organizing to infoshops and personal libera-

tion to cooperative housing and direct action, *P and D* covers the diverse projects anarchists engage in. For example, Amy, in between being a leader in the Womens Action Coalition and Black Cat free radio, lives in the DeCleyre Housing Coop in Memphis and dreams of removing the house from the electric grid. Joseph describes the experience of Citizens Acting To-

gether for Cooperative Housing in Bloomington, Indiana in creating a housing co-op. Joseph urges anarchists to "put down roots in neighborhoods, organizing with diverse groups-anarchist and non-anarchist." Christian of Chicago is a pleasure activist who encourages people to come out of the closet and teaches them a critical analysis of power locally and in Cuba.

Without our chewing gum, no one will want to kiss you. Without our deodorant, no one will want to touch you. Without our lipstick, you won't catch anyone's eye. Without our athletic shoes, you won't be able to keep up with the guys. Without our cigarettes, sophistication escapes you. Without our cleaning products, no one will want to come home to you. Your children won't have any games to play without our toys and cartoons. She won't enjoy the date unless you take her to see one of our movies. The fun hasn't really started until you have our beer in your hand. How can you feel free and alive without our new sports car?

Consider all your leisure-time activities and you'll see: you're not having fun unless you're paying for it.

We play on your insecurities, on your fears and anxieties. There are products for every human activity, even sex, because the things that are *natural and free* are not good enough without our synthetic supplements. Eventually you're so conditioned that you'll pay for the most useless of products, just to be paying for something. And should you ever try to step outside our system, you'll see that we really have made it impossible to be a human being without our products. You must pay to eat, pay to sleep, pay to keep warm, pay for a space just to *exist*.

CrimethInc.
"Depend on us!"



Letters

Jason of *Anarchy* in Columbia, Missouri is exploring human interaction beyond the limitations of ideological labels and traditional organizing. The St. Louis based City of Little Bread collective bakery has finally begun purchasing organic flour from a family farm and has plans to open a store front with radical literature and bread. Kim and James, utilizing the exciting artistic world of puppets, have worked with people of color to protest a Walgreens. Darrell organizes queers in the African Liberation Day parade and challenges queer assimilation. Camille spreads anarchism to the black community one-on-one through such groups as a women's percussion ensemble.

WORK RATE TOO FAST
(APPLY RESISTANCE)



Sam in Knoxville is fighting for ecological sanity with direct action and paper mill road blockades and trying to keep to her principles while earning a living within the environmental movement. Josh and Tony are two of the artists for the magazine who spend hours doing political art reflecting ideas and specific projects within the Midwest. Rachel of the Direct Action Media Network is building a print and internet activist news distribution organization. Of course there are interviews with folks at Trumbullplex and *Fifth Estate* in Detroit and the Autonomous Zone in Chicago.

Dozens of people have complimented the magazine for being inspiring and pushing the anarchist movement further. However some have lamented: "Anarchists need more theory to guide their action." One of my recent favorite compliments comes from a housing activist in St. Louis: "Nice job. Sometimes

even out in the hinterlands of the city, I feel adrift in the sea of speculators, bankers and developers. So it is nice to be reconnected once in a while to a broader vision of community rebuilding." *P and D* is distributed through AK Press and Left Bank Distribution and straight from the publisher for \$4 ppd (PO Box 63232, St. Louis, MO 63163).

Marcos Quercus
St. Louis, MO
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INSPIRATION MAY
BE IMBIBED

Just a child

Apparently, the only thing you have to remember to be an adult is that children should never be taken seriously I tried. I tried to learn more about anarchy. I've tried to digest the bulk of information that is hidden away in antiquated books that are polluted with useless synonyms. I tried to organize an anarchy web page that has never been seen, lost in the vast data of the internet. I need help organizing a meetinghouse for anarchists. We need meeting points in every state. Enough debating, we need to be prepared for marches and protests. Why can't we show ourselves, and stop hiding in secrecy. It's time for a revolution. We need to start chipping away at the faceless government. Accept the glory of this struggle or face defeat at the hands of monarchy. *Make your decision now.* But then, of course, I'm just a child.

Sincerely,
Devin Ross
St. Louis, MO
chubbs61@hotmail.com



RESISTANCE MAY BE
EXPECTED

No sheep

Dear *Anarchy*,

Reading your interview with John Conner (*Anarchy* no. 47) I saw that he states that Micah "succeed[ed] in getting a May 1998 LGSC speaking tour through Scotland canceled." In the interest of truth, I feel that I should point out that nothing of the kind actually happened. What did happen was that the meeting tour, which was being organized by the Scottish Anarchist Network (SAN), was postponed after Micah brought to our attention certain articles in *Green Anarchist* (namely the infamous "Irrationalists" article). I must stress this point as *Green Anarchist* has continually stated that we canceled it at the order of Micah. Indeed, *Green Anarchist* went so far as to state that we Anarchists in Glasgow were "sheep," following Micah's decrees without question (anyone who knows the Scottish movement will know how far from reality such an assertion actually is). Ironically, the only people who did follow Micah was *Green Anarchist* themselves who took Micah's wish as a SAN decision!

So why did we decide to postpone the meeting tour? Simply so we could discuss the issues Micah raised. Micah desired to have the tour canceled, other comrades were not so sure. Unfortunately, the issue became mote as the tour was effectively canceled by *Green Anarchist's* assumption we were all sheep following Micah's orders. One thing which we all did agree on was that the article in question, with its celebration of terrorism against the general public, had nothing to do with anarchism (and, indeed, humanity). Stating that murdering

innocent people was the "right idea" suggests a deeply authoritarian position and one in direct opposition of the goals of anarchism—namely individual and working class self-liberation. Such a position, I would also argue, reflects the politics of Unabomber and, therefore, not anarchist. I quote from the manifesto *Industrial Society and Its Future*:

"194. Probably the revolutionaries should even *avoid* assuming political power, whether by legal or illegal means, until the industrial system is stressed to the danger point and has proved itself to be a failure in the eyes of most people...the revolutionaries should not try to acquire political power until the system has gotten itself into such a mess that any hardships will be seen as resulting from the failures of the industrial system itself and not from the policies of the revolutionaries. The revolution against technology will probably have to be a revolution by outsiders, a revolution from below and not from above."

In other words, the aim of "revolutionaries" is to "acquire political power." This is may be revolutionary, but it is not anarchism. Anarchism, by definition, is against the acquiring of political power—it is for its destruction. Clearly this places the Unabomber outside the anarchist tradition and the anarchist movement, unless of course anarchism now includes those who seek political power (which makes the Trotskyites anarchists as they seek a "revolution from below" in which they assume political power). Perhaps this explains the earlier comment that:

"193. The kind of revolution we have in mind will not necessarily involve an armed uprising against any government. It may or may not involve physical violence, but it will not be a *political* revolution. Its focus will be on technology and economics, not politics."

After all, if the Unabomber does seek "political power" then



CRIMETHINK, 2695 Rangewood Dr., Atlanta, GA 30345, USA.

Teddy dead after he couldn't
get the condom off his banana.



Mr. fish

a revolution which had involved an uprising against "any" government could put the new government in a dangerous position. Having done it against the old bosses, they may just do it against the new ones. So it looks like *Freedom* (who insisted that Unabomber was not an anarchist) were right and Conner's attempts to dismiss their claims misguided.

Like all vanguardists, Unabomber downplays the importance of working class self-liberation. He states that:

"189. Prior to that final struggle, the revolutionaries should not expect to have a majority of people on their side. History is made by active, determined minorities, not by the majority, which seldom has a clear and consistent idea of what it really wants. Until the time comes for the final push toward revolution, the task of revolutionaries will be less to win the shallow support of the majority than to build a small core of deeply committed people. As for the majority, it will be enough to

make them aware of the existence of the new ideology and remind them of it frequently; though of course it will be desirable to get majority support to the extent that this can be done without weakening the core of seriously committed people."

Yes, the minorities with a "new ideology" who will lead the majority (after gaining their "support", perhaps) to the new land.... Well, I have heard that before and not from the mouths of anarchists. Yes, anarchists are (or at least should be) an "active, determined minority" but we are such in order to increase the influence of anarchist ideas and so produce a social movement which aims to transform society into something better. Rather than get the "support" of others, we desire them to act for themselves, think for themselves and create their own future, for that is the only way an anarchist society can be created. We do not have a "new ideology" seeking to "acquire political power."

These comments by Unabomber indicate how far from anarchism he actually is. Rather than a popular movement against the state, his vision is of a vanguard seizing power even if they do not have the "support" of the majority of people. Democratic government at best, dictatorship at worse.

Given this dismissal of working class self-activity, it is not surprising that Unabomber argues that "revolutionaries" should "promote social stress and instability in industrial society." After all, with the majority ignored until the "final push" (when they can help the new bosses "acquire political power" perhaps?) there is no real way to revolution. This, in turn, explains *Green Anarchist's* support for terrorism—such acts do promote "social stress and instability" and so the revolution is promoted against the wishes the majority, who are, let us not forget, "unthinking." Rather than an act of social revolt, the "revolution" will be the act of minorities who force the rest of society to be free

(whether they subscribe to Unabomber's ideas of a free society or not). The parallels to Leninism are clear, with the "instability in industrial society" replacing the inevitable collapse of capitalism as the catalyst to the new society. Rather than being a subjective revolt for a free society, the Unabomber revolution is a reaction to objective events which force people to his utopia whether they want to go or not. And, therefore, *Green Anarchist's* support for terrorist acts—they may claim to be anarchists, but their politics drive them towards authoritarianism and vanguardism. After all, someone who claims that they would prefer "mass starvation" to "mass government" (i.e. existing society) hardly counts as a libertarian, if by libertarian we think of someone who supports liberty rather than an ideology (these words were said by a member of *Green Anarchist* at a London Anarchist Forum meeting last year). That someone who claims to be an anarchist could say should a thing is a

disgrace—if liberty means millions starving to death, then is it surprising most people prefer government?

One last point. To state that “political anarchy has never existed outside of primitive societies” (as the interviewer of John Conner states) raises an interesting point. If primitive societies are the only viable form of anarchy (something that anarcho-primitives assert) then why are we living in a state-ridden, industrial capitalist system? If primitive societies are inherently anarchic, then how did archy develop in the first place? And what is there to stop the future primitive societies aimed at by anarcho-primitives going the same way?

Hopefully this letter will not be answered by the usual *Green Anarchist* tirade of insults they direct against people who disagree with them. Indeed, like Lenin they take a positive delight in insulting those who dare to question their politics. Perhaps by so doing they ensure that their politics are not looked into critically? After all, any one who does must be a “workerist” or “anarcho-leftist” or “anarcho-liberal”—and if not celebrating the murder of children by bombs as the “right idea” makes you an “anarcho-leftist,” then I would sooner be an “anarcho-leftist” than a cheer-leader for terrorists.

Keep up the good work with *Anarchy*. I always enjoy reading it.

yours in solidarity
Iain

Glasgow, Scotland
anarcho@geocities.com

London infoshops live!

Hello there *Anarchy* magazine folks,

An interesting impression of London's anarchist milieu appears in Paul Simons' “My Vacation” in *Anarchy* No.46. He visits Freedom bookshop in the East End of London and finds from the contents of the bookshop itself that theory in London appears stagnant, the bookseller in Freedom being even unaware of the Critical Theorists! What chance is there of us ever smashing capitalism

after that faux-pas?

Just in case our capital city appears too dull and out-of-date to your readers, I will add that, at the time of Paul's visit, London, had two other anarchist bookshops where thrilling up-to-date publications, sparking

conversations and a warm welcome for the international traveller were guaranteed. One place, the 121 Centre in Brixton has now been sadly evicted (by armed riot police!) after being in the same location for 18 years. A six month struggle

against the forces of gentrification saw barricades in the streets, occupations, demos and street parties. The loss of 121 is a sad loss for the 1000s of people worldwide that had visited the Centre.

The other space, the 56a

depression appears to increase far more rapidly in technological cultures than in others.



this event is not just an occasion for regular frolicking

Liberal bumper sticker:

LOVE THE WORLD
FUCK SOMEBODY
IN A WHEELCHAIR

mr.fish

Infoshop, is happily still rocking on. In existence since 1991, it operates a bookshop and reading room every Thurs and Friday from 2-8pm. In addition to stocking most UK anarchist mags, we have a wide range of books and other stuff plus a 5000+ title open-access archive with material on everything from anarchist history via vaginal pride to Baudrillard/Camatte/Carol Queen and Crowley. We also believe in action to back up our impeccable and precisely honed theory and so are involved in various social struggles, both locally and internationally.

There are also, at any one time, often a couple of squatted social centres operating somewhere in London where cheap meals and events can be enjoyed as well as preparations for actions and demos.

Call in at the 56a and we'll fill you in. See ya soon.
Love and solidarity and kisses,
56a Infoshop
56 Crampton St,
Elephant and Castle,
London SE17 UK

Paul has been unavailable, so he can't respond, but I have been wondering myself why he only

decided to visit the Freedom Press bookshop, when there are always other more welcoming anarchist sites to visit in London. *Anarchy* readers are advised to check out 56a before spending too much time venturing over to the East End.
-Jason

Anarchist epistemology

Dear *Anarchy*,

I am concerned that a great deal of anarchism bases itself on a Eurocentric colonial epistemological base, and thus, while providing an alternative social vision, does so within the framework of orthodox history and science. Because a sociology of knowledge within hierarchical societies is rarely appreciated, folklore that is generated by high status priesthoods within that society may rank as scientific fact. Anarchists, alert to the hegemony of the present Eurocentric paradigm of science, do not want to be seen as cranks and thus frame their theories within the prevailing worldview. The problem is, that worldview is bursting at the seams, and it has been little appreciated how much that worldview serves colonial, imperialist interests.

Much anarchism seems to support a specifically *industrial* technology—this 40 years after the foundations of ecology as a science and after even mainstream scientists have declared that industrialism will destroy the planet within the next 30 years unless it is radically altered.

The great fear of heresy has never subsided, yet it should be anarchists of all people who challenge the hegemony of orthodoxy. This would mean a number of different tropes of the dominant worldview would have to be questioned, including, but not limited to: the big bang, the concept of ice ages, the validity of radiocarbon dating or even stratigraphic dating for that matter, macroevolution, the dates for the emergence of humans, the Bering Strait hypothesis, the technological superiority of industrial civilizations, etc. I realize that these are sacred cows, and as a vegan, I am not suggesting we butcher them but rather that we don't swallow them at all in the first place!

The rationalist atheist (re: the anxious ex-Catholic or Fundamentalist) may get jittery here and ask, wait, if we throw out

these themes of modern science, what will we replace them with, religion? No, with *question marks*. There are some who are very uncomfortable living surrounded by question marks, and accept any theory with enough status. In a fundamentalist community, it might be creationism which has most status; in an academic community it might be evolution. The problem with the discomfort with question marks is that it can lead to a privileging of a dominant theory to the detriment, dismissal, and marginalization of *literally millions of documented anomalies!* Are we going to situate our anarchist discourse within this framework?

This becomes critical when it comes to the question of anthropology, a discipline which draws upon paleontology, linguistics, and ethnology in order to understand human dynamics. It has been insufficiently appreciated—in fact, nearly totally neglected—how each of these disciplines—paleontology, which draws upon geology and biology, linguistics, and ethnology—may reflect unconscious biases of imperial subject peoples living in hierarchical class societies, used to justify and legiti-

mate brutal historical colonialism on gross and subtle levels. How can you discard colonialism without discarding colonial ideology and epistemology?

Colonial epistemology essentially states, "white man knows best," and more specifically, "white, privileged, ranked man knows best" (with very, very recent token allowances to initiated so-called "minority groups" (for example, women—51% of the population?!). And since "white man knows best" about all the world, then obviously white man knows what is best for everyone else. Anthropology, which only recently has begun to struggle to emerge out of its colonial beginnings, feels it knows tribal peoples better than they know themselves, and does not hesitate to tell them, despite the fact that ethnology is based on anecdotal, third-person 6-18 month samplings of ongoing communities! Imagine how you'd react if someone told you based on newspaper reports about your collective that they knew more than you did as an active and ongoing member! The arrogance! So native peoples say, no, we didn't cross any Bering Strait 12,000 years ago; we have always been here, and anthropologists, some of whom might even be "anarchists," say, oh, no, no, you don't know what you're talking about but we do because we know everything. Fortunately, native peoples are beginning to hold conferences to confer on all sorts of knowledge, and thus a truly cross-cultural, noncolonial knowledge base is presently in the making, entirely outside of anthropology.

How is this western arrogance justified? Again, in the fundamental claim that through science, we simply "know better" than everyone else in the world, and so presumably if they do things our way, they will come to the same conclusions. But where Eurocolonial science has mainly proven itself is in the sphere of mechanics. Mechanics allowed the proliferation of technologies which appear to be the tangible proof behind all of the scientific establishment's claims. The advancement of mechanics will not be disputed



here, and in fact should be highlighted to indicate that prior to the more advanced instrumentation that mechanics produced, Eurocolonial science may actually have been lagging behind other cultures in the fields of astronomy, botany, ecology, and if the new catastrophist paradigm has any validity, maybe even in geology. It has held preeminence in physics and chemistry, notably the sciences most beneficial to the military-industrial complex. Certainly the effects of mechanical development within a hierarchical, military-industrial regime have been far-reaching and even awesome, but does that legitimate all of science's claims, or merely claim Anglo-American civilization as the most narrow yet forceful breed of idiot-savants?

Many moderns it seems have a "Thomist paranoia," fearing that any discarding of Eurocolonial scientific paradigms automatically entails a return to the Thomist paradigm of the church. But why discard one casuistry for another? Perhaps some fear the ascendance of the "new age," but paranoia regarding the new age is simply the repackaging of the prejudice against folklore which masks itself in the racist term "superstition." A much healthier anarchist approach to the critique of the new age movement would be along the lines of a sociology of knowledge, which examines how authoritarianism, class interest, and hierarchy warp folk beliefs. What is called superstition is a vast body of oral tradition and customs which I am not ready to pell-mell dismiss without asking about the baby being discarded with the bathwater. Many of these represent a whole different cultural way of approaching the world. So when someone derides another for invoking astrology, for example, what I see is ethnocentrism—an at-

tempt to elevate one style of approaching the world over others. I see no inherent authoritarianism in astrology itself—indeed "desire" itself means "of one's stars"! The problem is how these things can become unthinking supporters for empire—but the same critique applies to science!

These issues are critical to sort out because they generate claims involving the real world which are backed by knowledges backed by worldviews backed by premises backed by interests. And I think with the claim that "the global economy is a doomsday machine," it makes all the difference in the world, both to our present course of action and our future, whether this claim is true! But these issues are also fundamentally important because they involve the testimonies and experiences of autonomous communities with long histories of ecosustainability, and I hope that ultimately anarchism becomes a coherent theory of sustainable, egalitarian, free communities—i.e. the sustained articulation of ways of life—and not just a new intellectual evangelism.

So here are some things I would plead: when a person from a historically autonomous community (an "indigenous" person) tells you about the history of their people, listen, and suspend what you supposedly think you know about the world, and take it all in, with the humility that your eurocolonial inheritance of the academy might not explain everything. Understand that we learn anarchy from two sources: irrepressible individuals resisting imperial socialization and affirming desire, and from ecosustainable autonomous communities. And you can examine the ways literate cultures try to discredit the validity of oral tradition by mislabelling it "inaccurate," "childish," or

"quaint." And finally, acknowledge that in the grand scheme of things, we know jackshit, and that jackshit is no basis for marginalizing others. A sociological critique would be better than an epistemological dismissal.

In other words, I don't care if you argue against evolution, but I do care if you are acting in such a way as to advance the power of an aggressive, authoritarian, missionary religion over my life or any other free people. How much can we challenge desire to be free of all ideologies, to drift across the cracks between worldviews, to affirm its undoctrinaire, antinomian energies? Desire must smash Procrustes' bed!

Some good texts to begin explorations of these themes include, Deborah Dozier's *The Heart is Fire: The World of the Cahuilla Indians of Southern California*; Vine Deloria, Jr.'s *Red Earth, White Lies*; Robert Lawlor's *Voices of the First Day: Awakening in the Aboriginal Dreamtime*; Louis Paimels & Jacques Bergier's *The Morning of the Magicians*; and Wub-e-keniew's *We Have the Right to Exist: A Translation of Aboriginal Indigenous Thought, The First Book ever Published from a Ahnishinahbao'jibway Perspective*.

I will assert that much of the dominant worldview many of us take for granted will be seen as so much medieval folklore legitimated by a priestly scholasticism. It is high time we began formulating an anarchist epistemology which can supersede that pseudoliberal "science" (while drawing on its best parts), which after all has been about as liberating as "democracy" has been. A new liberation inquiry has yet to be formulated....

John Landau
Primal Revival Growth Center
West Hills, CA

PS: Here are some of my suggestions for themes in future issues:

- Permaculture & the Environment
- Worldwide Aboriginal Resistance & Renaissance
- Autoabolition of the Proletariat

Get Anarchy back issues!

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Back issue prices are \$6 for the first copy by 4th Class US mail, or Surface mail to other countries. Additional back issues (after the 1st one ordered) are \$4 each. Full sets of the 36 back issues still in print (#8 thru #46) are \$60. For Airmail add \$3 for each copy ordered; 1st Class add \$1 ea.

Anarchy #8 (12pp. tabloid) [Oct.-Nov. '85] Contents include Bob Black's "The Abolition of Work."

Anarchy #9 (12pp. tabloid) [Dec. '85-Jan. '86] Includes Gerry Reith's story "Foreign Policy."

Anarchy #10 (12pp. tabloid) [Feb.-Mar. '86] Contents include the first installment of "The Papalagi."

Anarchy #11 (12pp. tabloid) [April '86] Includes Gerry Reith's story "Winning Hearts and Minds."

Anarchy #12 (12pp. tabloid) [Summer '86] Includes "Notes on Playing for Keeps" by Alf Sprack.

Anarchy #13 [Weekly World Anarchy issue] (20pp. tabloid) [Fall-Winter '86] Includes Murray Bookchin's "Theses on Libertarian Municipalism."

Anarchy #14 (28pp. tabloid) [Summer '87] Includes John Zerzan's "Vagaries of Negation," & "Intervention in Vietnam & Central America" by Noam Chomsky.

Anarchy #15 (32pp. tabloid) [Winter '88] Includes "The Realization & Suppression of Religion" by Ken Knabb.

Anarchy #16 (32pp. tabloid) [Summer '88] Includes Holly's "My life in the Porn Biz," Paula Webster's "Pornography and Pleasure" & more "Anarchy & Religion."

Anarchy #17 (32pp. tabloid mag.) [Fall-Winter '88-89] Includes "Who Killed Ned Ludd?" by John Zerzan & "The Freedom of Biocentrism" by Lone Wolf Circles.

Anarchy #18 (32pp. tabloid mag.) [March-April '89] Includes "Bigger Cages, Longer Chains."

Anarchy #19 (32pp. tabloid mag.) [May-July '89] Special issue on "Children's Sexuality."

Anarchy #20/21 Double issue (48pp. tabloid mag.) [Aug.-October '89] Includes Richard Walters' "Whatever Happened to the Sexual Revolution," "Jealousy" by Isaac Cronin & Kevin Keating's fiction, "The Man in the Box."

Anarchy #22 (32pp. tabloid mag.) [Nov.-Dec. '89] Includes "In Search of the New Age" by Janos Nehke.

Anarchy #23 (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Jan.-Feb. '89] Includes "The Population Myth" by Murray Bookchin & Noam Chomsky's "Propaganda American-Style."

Anarchy #24 (36pp. tabloid mag.) [March-April '90] Includes "Misinformation and Manipulation: An Anarchist Critique of the Politics of AIDS" by Joe Peacock, and a discussion of "Anarchy & the Sacred" by D. Campion, F. Faun & Chernyi.

Anarchy #25 (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Summer '90] Includes "The Mass Psychology of Misery" by John Zerzan.

Anarchy #26 (40pp. tabloid mag.) [Fall '90] Anti-work issue including "Take Things from Work" by bp ummfatik & Kevin Keating's fiction "The Good, The Bad and The Angry."

Anarchy #27 (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Winter '90-91] Special "Free the Kids" issue.

Anarchy #28 (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Spring '91] Includes Charlatan Stew's "Myths of the Anti-War Movement" & James Koehnline's "Great Dismal Maroons."

Anarchy #29 (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Summer '91] Special issue on "The Situationists and Beyond..."

Anarchy #30 (36pp. tabloid mag.) [Fall '91] Includes Laure A's "The Rebellion that Never Had a Chance" & John Zerzan's "The Catastrophe of Postmodernism."

Anarchy #31 (44pp. tabloid mag.) [Winter '92] Special issue on "Women, Gender & Anarchy."

Anarchy #32 (44pp. tabloid mag.) [Spring '92] Special issue on "Libertarian Fiction."

Anarchy #33 (88pp. magazine) [Summer '92] Special issue on "Abandoning Civilization," includes John Zerzan's "Future Primitive," Fredy Perlman's "Against His-Story," & Ward Churchill's "Deconstructing Columbus."

Anarchy #34 (88pp., magazine) [Fall '92] Includes Nick DiSpoldo's on prison life and Max Anger on the L.A. Riot.

Anarchy #35 (84pp., magazine) [Winter '93] Includes M.A. Jaimes' "The Stone Age Revisited" & part 1 of Manolo Gonzalez's "Life in Revolutionary Barcelona."

Anarchy #36 (84pp., magazine) [Spring '93] Includes Michael William's "Bisexuality" and part 2 of Manolo Gonzalez's "Life in Revolutionary Barcelona."

Anarchy #37 (84pp., magazine) [Summer '93] Includes Freddy Perlman's "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism"

and John Zerzan's "Rank and File Radicalism in the KKK of the 1920s."

Anarchy #38 (84pp., magazine) [Fall '93] Includes "For a World without Morality" from *La Banquise* and "In the Aftermath of the Spanish Civil War: Adios, Catalonia, Pt.1" by Manolo Gonzalez.

Anarchy #39 (84pp., magazine) [Winter '94] Includes John Zerzan's "Time and Its Discontents," Manolo Gonzalez on "The Aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, Pt.2" & Neal Keating's "Rioting & Looting as a Modern Potlatch."

Anarchy #40 (100pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '94] Includes Michael Williams' "The Ecology Montreal Party: A Libertarian Frankenstein," Anders Corr's interview on "Nonmonogamy," & libertarian fiction by Lorna McLaughlin, Marc Sherman & Doug Bolling.

Anarchy #41 (84pp., magazine) [Winter '95] Special issue on "Individualism," includes the Bibliothèque des Émeutes' "On Max Stirner," excerpts from For Ourselves' "The Right to Be Greedy," & Doug Imrie on "The Illegalists."

Anarchy #42 (84pp., magazine) [Fall '95] Includes Hakim Bey's "Primitives & Extropians," Paul Simons' "New Model Army," Octavio Alberola on the insurrection in "Baja California" & Michel Donnegan's "Petersburg."

Anarchy #43 (84pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '97] Includes John Zerzan's "Running on Emptiness" Bob Black on "Murray Bookchin: Grumpy Old Man," & Laure Akai's "In Search of the Unabomber."

Anarchy #44 (84pp., magazine) [Fall/Winter '97-8] Includes Len Bracken on "Guy Debord in Paris, '68," John Zerzan's "New York, New York" on the '77 blackout, & Paul Simons' new afterword for Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal*.

Anarchy #45 (84pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '98] Includes Brian Morris on "Anthropology & Anarchism," an interview with Manolo Gonzalez, & John Zerzan on "Reification."

Anarchy #46 (84pp., magazine) [Fall/Winter '98-9] Includes Charles Reeve's "Unemployed Struggles in France," & Reeve & Deneuve's "Behind the Balaclavas of the Mexican Southeast."

Anarchy #47 (84pp., magazine) [Spring/Summer '99] Includes part 1 of Michael William's "Collapse of the Ecology Montreal Party," and Paul Simons on "The Paris Commune."



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Collage: Keith Rozendal

A vibrant, surreal collage by Peter Dinklage. The composition is a dense, chaotic assembly of various elements. A large, purple elephant with a textured, almost crystalline surface dominates the right side. In the center, a globe shows a landscape with a body of water and a small structure. To the left, a snake with a blue and yellow patterned head is visible. The background is filled with a complex network of colorful dots, lines, and organic shapes in shades of red, blue, green, and yellow. A large, multi-colored, sun-like or star-like shape is in the upper left. The overall effect is one of intense visual stimulation and dreamlike imagery.

A vibrant, surreal collage by Peter Dinklage. The composition is a dense, chaotic assembly of various elements. A large, purple elephant with a textured, almost crystalline skin is the central figure, its trunk curled. To its left is a globe showing a landscape with a body of water and a yellow sky. Above the globe is a snake with a blue and yellow patterned head. The background is filled with a multitude of small, colorful circles in red, blue, green, and yellow, interspersed with larger, more complex shapes like a skull, a mushroom, and a small house. The overall effect is one of intense visual stimulation and dreamlike imagery.



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